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ABSTRACT

That public education in Bedford-Stuyvesant is failing, is evident from the reading and math scores reported in this study. Approximately 78.5 percent or 45,543 Bedford-Stuyvesant children are reading below the national norm, and 80.6 percent or 46,761 Bedford-Stuyvesant children are doing math below the national norm. As the children advance from grade to grade, more and more fall behind. The authors believe the primary cause is in the educational system itself, especially the quality of teaching--not in the child, or his home, or his poverty. How does one improve public elementary education? The authors twofold answer is (1) through on-site teacher-training to help grade school and junior high teachers create individualized learning environments, combined with (2) a parent education program to enable parents to develop criteria for judging good learning methods. Chapters 2, 3, and 5 are a reflection of the insights gained from direct experience in the Bedford-Stuyvesant educational system for periods of time ranging from 4 to 21 years. Although this study contains information on preschool education, high school education, higher education, decentralization, and various special education programs, the principal focus is on those years in school when the child should be developing those skills necessary to become an independent learner. (Author/JM)

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A REPORT ON EDUCATION IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT AND SOME PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

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"...the remedy for the defects of slum schools is the remedy for the defects of all schools: namely, to transforms them into free, open, humane and joyous institutions."

Charles E. Silberman
Crisis in the Classroom

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INTRODUCTION

That public education in Bedford-Stuyvesant is failing, is evident from the reading and math scores in Tables I and II of this study. Approximately 78.5% or 45,543 Bedford-Stuyvesant children are reading below the national norm, and 80.6% or 46,761 Bedford-Stuyvesant children are doing math below the national norm. As the children advance from grade to grade, more and more fall behind.

We believe the primary cause of educational decline is in the educational system itself, especially the quality of teaching - not in the child, or his home, or his poverty.

How does one improve public elementary education? Our twofold answer is (1) through on-site teacher-training to help grade school and junior high teachers to create individualized learning environments, combined with (2) a parent education program to enable parents to develop criteria for judging good learning methods.

To find out why we are convinced that we have an answer to the perplexing problem of the continuing deterioration of the public schools, read especially Chapters II, III, and V. These chapters are a reflection of the insights gained from direct experience in the Bedford-Stuyvesant educational system for periods of time ranging from four years to 21 years. From 1968 until 1972, three of us worked together as principal, language arts co-ordinator and teacher at I.S. 55 in the Eastern corner of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The on-site teacher training program that we developed within this one school has produced a reading score advance of one to two years, per year, for the average student. We believe that the successful process we have developed at I.S. 55 should be shared with other schools and other parents. Hopefully, the deeper understanding of what makes for better education by parents will give rise to a demand for better teaching in every classroom; furthermore, on-site training programs will enable teachers to meet this demand.

We also believe that our proposals, if effectively implemented, will enable the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration/ D & S Corporations to cooperate with and stimulate existing educational institutions to make a significant impact on education in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

In addition to elementary and junior high education, this study contains information on pre-school education, high school education, higher education, decentralization, and various special education programs. Although this data is an important part of the comprehensive study of education in Bedford-Stuyvesant, it is not our principal focus.

Our principal focus is on those years in school when the child should be developing those skills necessary to become an independent learner. If children do not become independent learners, they will not be equipped for life in our ever-changing complex society.

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I.S. 55

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Jeffrey Nilson, Teacher
I.S. 55 (1968-72)

Charles Palms, Education Coordinator,
Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation

Note: This Report was especially prepared for the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation and the Bedford-Stuyvesant D & S (Development & Services) Corporation, partner, non-profit corporations established in 1967 for the purpose of energizing the community they serve. The Corporations are active in housing, land development, economic development, job development and improving public services and other matters of broad concern. The Report was submitted to guide the Corporations in education program development.

CHAPTER

I

EDUCATION IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT

I. Bedford-Stuyvesant 1972: the Area and the People

A. Geography

Bedford-Stuyvesant is an area of approximately five square miles in north-central Brooklyn. Its 653 blocks are bounded by Flushing Avenue in the north, Broadway in the east, Eastern Parkway in the south, and Washington Avenue in the west.

B. Demography

Within these boundaries, the 1970 Census reports 356,900 persons, who are grouped by age as follows:

Age	Population	Percentage
0-4	38,300	10.7%
5-14	85,800	24.1
15-24	61,400	17.2
25-44	94,200	26.3
45-64	56,600	15.9
65+	20,600	5.8

C. Cultural Diversity

The 1970 Census shows that Bedford-Stuyvesant is 88% Black and 12% white. The area is much more diversified than the census figures would indicate. The second largest minority group in Bedford-Stuyvesant are the

Puerto Ricans, made up of both blacks and whites and estimated at 25 per cent. Since immigration quotas were eased in 1965, more than 200,000 English speaking West Indians from Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad have entered the United States, many of them setting up housekeeping in various parts of Brooklyn. Greater Bedford-Stuyvesant also has a large Creole speaking Hatian population of at least 20,000. The area is rich in cultures and languages and cannot simply be thought of in terms of black and white. In every Bedford-Stuyvesant school except two, from .3% to 23.6% of the students have moderate to severe language difficulty.

Differing language and cultural backgrounds must be taken into consideration in planning for Bedford-Stuyvesant schools. To reject or ignore the language of the child's first six years is to shatter the child's learning foundation.

D. Socio-economic

One index of socioeconomic status is the proportion of a school's register elligible for the free lunch program. The New York State Education Department regards anything over 25 per cent as an indication that the school is serving a low socio-economic population.

As can be seen from Table IV, every Bedford-Stuyvesant school is well above the 25 per cent poverty line. Indeed, 44 of Bedford-Stuyvesant's 48 public schools show over 50% of the children elligible for free lunch.

About 36 per cent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant population was on welfare as of July 1971.[1] The number of persons receiving assistance in the area has nearly doubled since 1965. Overall unemployment of working-age adults in the labor force in Bedford-Stuyvesant is estimated at 8.2 per cent. But percentages are even higher for white Puerto Ricans (11.1%), and the rate for not-in-school black youth, 16 to 21 years, was 38.4%.[2]

Bedford-Stuyvesant is also considered to be an educationally disadvantaged area. Every public elementary and junior high or intermediate school is a "Title I" school and therefore elligible to operate programs funded under the Federal Elementary and Secondary

Education Act of 1965. For 1972-73 Bedford-Stuyvesant's five districts have been allocated $18.7 million under this program and expect an additional $6.3 million under the State Urban Education funding.

E. Housing - School Enrollment Capacity

Ninety-three per cent of existing Bedford-Stuyvesant housing was built before 1939.[3] As might be expected, the average Bedford-Stuyvesant school building was built forty years ago.[4] Like so much of the housing in central Brooklyn, the schools are suffering from the ravages of time and the hard usage of day to day operations.

Because the Bedford-Stuyvesant population has not increased over the past ten years,[5] no massive new school construction program has been launched. However, a steady building program is needed to repair or replace unsafe and deteriorating structures, supply school space for special population increases. For example in the intermediate age group,[6] and to satisfy school needs in certain compacted areas where new housing goes up or there are significant changes in housing patterns. Because of the delicate balance between existing schools and neighborhoods, no new housing project should be implemented without also planning educational space.

Table VII indicates that school capacity in general is keeping pace with school enrollment; however certain cases of over-utilization arise, especially in the intermediate schools. To respond to this need, the school building program presently has five intermediate schools in construction pipeline scheduled for Bedford-Stuyvesant sites .

With the City's long-term trend of population growth having paused, pupil registration depends more on the birth rate, family size, population migration, and changing housing patterns. Board of Education planners for 65 census tracts in Bedford-Stuyvesant, projecting ahead to 1977 foresee a need of providing for an additional 1,512 pupils in the PK-5 grades and 3,953 pupils in the intermediate (gr. 6 - 8), grades. [7] New schools to provide for these needs are in the pipeline. Whether or not school construction can keep pace with the demand over the next decade will depend upon City budget funds and spending priorities.

F. Health

The infant mortality rate is considered a good general index of community health. In 1966, the Bedford-Stuyvesant rate was highest in the city, 37.9 infant deaths per thousand births. In 1969, the rate for Bedford-Stuyvesant had risen to 40.2, whereas the overall city rate was 24.4 infant deaths per thousand births. Health care continues to be on a crisis basis, by taxi or ambulance to the emergency room. It is generally agreed that there are enough hospital beds to serve the needs of Bedford-Stuyvesant residents, but the serious shortage of doctors and lack of clinics in the area means that only about half of Bedford-Stuyvesant residents can get the kind of medical attention they should have. Preventive medicine is lacking. School health programs could be an effective means of health education and the practice of preventive medicine. However, these programs are severely limited by low funding and inadequate staffing.

The health fairs (screenings) that the Albany Avenue Restoration Center has conducted in selected Bedford-Stuyvesant public schools indicate that too many of the children suffer from various forms of anemia, and have significant eye and ear defects that were never identified or corrected (hindering educational advancement). The school district health coordinators complain that they do not have the authority to develop adequate health care programs. They have only a resource or catalyst function. In addition, public school teachers have not had the health education background to carry out their health education responsibilities in the classroom. Health education and services in a given school depend upon the principal; his willingness to cooperate with the district health coordinator; his ability to organize his teaching staff for health education; his persistence in pressuing the City Health Department to deliver school health services. In one City school, the principal made the parents responsibile for seeing to it that the children have had the necessary examinations and innoculations. For the most part, State law mandated health education programs and services in the schools are not being carried out in Bedford-Stuyvesant schools.

G. Drugs and Crime

Drug abuse has become the curse of the young. It is the largest single cause of death for New Yorkers between the ages of 15 and 35. During 1971, 306 persons from Brooklyn died from narcotices-related causes. It is estimated that there are 20,000 addicts in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Because of the causal connection between drugs and crime, it is no surprise that Bedford-Stuyvesant police precincts, 73, 77, 79, 81, and 88 are among the highest crime areas in the city. Every Bedford-Stuyvesant school district has its State-funded anti-drug education and prevention program. District 13, for example has a budget of $500,000 and a staff of 50 serving 22 schools. The problem remains at epidemic proportions. Only if young people find meaningful alternatives to drugs, in education or in satisfying career choices, will the drug problem begin to be solved.

H. Recreation

Only 3.2% of Bedford-Stuyvesant is devoted to parks and playgrounds, and these recreational areas are poorly maintained and offer few structured programs for the young. An outdoor pool at Tompkins Park opened in 1971, and there is an indoor pool at the St. John's Recreation Center. The City's Youth Services Agency has a Neighborhood Youth Service Center on Nostrand Avenue. However, in spite of the numerous programs coordinated through YSA, e.g., PAL and after-school recreation centers, these recreational activities serve only a small proportion of the area's youth. Youth-In-Action's Youth Advisory Council has operated several "teen canteens" as well as a sewing class. However, emphasis is on programs for older youth, with the result that young children are offered little opportunity to participate in structured or supervised recreational activities.

I. Educational Resources

1. Preschool Education

The preschool population of Bedford-Stuyvesant, children from three through five years of age, is 25,427. Less than half of these children, 10,792, are enrolled in preschool programs. There are 14,635 Bedford-Stuyvesant children not involved in any type of formal preschool program. However, should all presently planned day care centers open up, an additional 3,445 preschoolers will be enrolled.

Bedford-Stuyvesant pre-school enrollment is distributed as follows:

Group Day Care	2,485	Children
Family Day Care	102	
Head Start	638	
Board of Education Preschool	7,567	
	10,792	Children

Group Day Care programs are implemented through New York City's Agency for Child Development, a division of the Human Resources Administration. In Group Day Care, services are provided for groups of 35 or more children, primarily between the ages of three and six. To qualify, the children must be receiving public assistance; however, it is expected that the eligibility guidelines will be changed to include all preschool children of working mothers.

The Group Day Care Centers, which are operated by community sponsoring boards, are open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., five days a week, on a year-round basis. The quality of the educational programs varies from center to center, ranging from directed play to comprehensive educational programs focusing on the needs of each child. There are presently 34 Group Day Care Centers either in operation or under construction in Bedford-Stuyvesant to serve 2,485 preschoolers. In addition, 43 centers are planned for Bedford-Stuyvesant by FY 1974.

Family Day Care is day care by the mother in the home, for no more than six children per home, open to members of the family and other children of the neighborhood. Thirty Bedford-Stuyvesant children in eight certified homes are presently in the program administered by the Agency for Child Development which certifies the home and pays the mother a stipend. The ACD caseworker helps with the mother in implementing child development programs for the youngsters.

An additional 151 children, including 72 preschoolers, are in 38 certified homes in the family day care careers program. The Careers program, also administered by ACD, is implemented in Bedford-Stuyvesant through Youth-In-Action. YIA identifies "provider" mothers who are then enrolled in an educational training and career program, which prepares them to care for up to six children in each home setting. The quality of educational programming offered to the preschool children enrolled varies from home to home.

Head Start is a federally-funded pre-school education program, administered by the City's Agency for Child Development. The program seeks the total development of the child, with emphasis on school readiness and parental involvement. There are presently 14 Head Start Centers in Bedford-Stuyvesant, 10 of which are being implemented by Youth-In-Action. Sessions vary from three hours to a full day program. The educational value of these programs is uneven, again depending on the quality of the teachers and degree of parent involvement, but Head Start is rated among the best of the preschool programs. Total Bedford-Stuyvesant enrollment for children, three through five years of age, is 638. Board of Education preschool programs include Pre-kindergarten, Kindergarten and Early Childhood Education.

Pre-Kindergarten and Kindergarten programs operate in Bedford-Stuyvesant schools for children 4 and 5 years of age. Children attend sessions for three hours daily, with program emphasis on school readiness. Early Childhood Centers are designed to provide an early educational environment for children of special service schools in poverty areas. The centers also provide an opportunity for teachers on leave to return to active teaching by enrolling their children in the centers. Children can participate from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

daily. The number of children presently en-enrolled in Bedford-Stuyvesant preschool programs is:

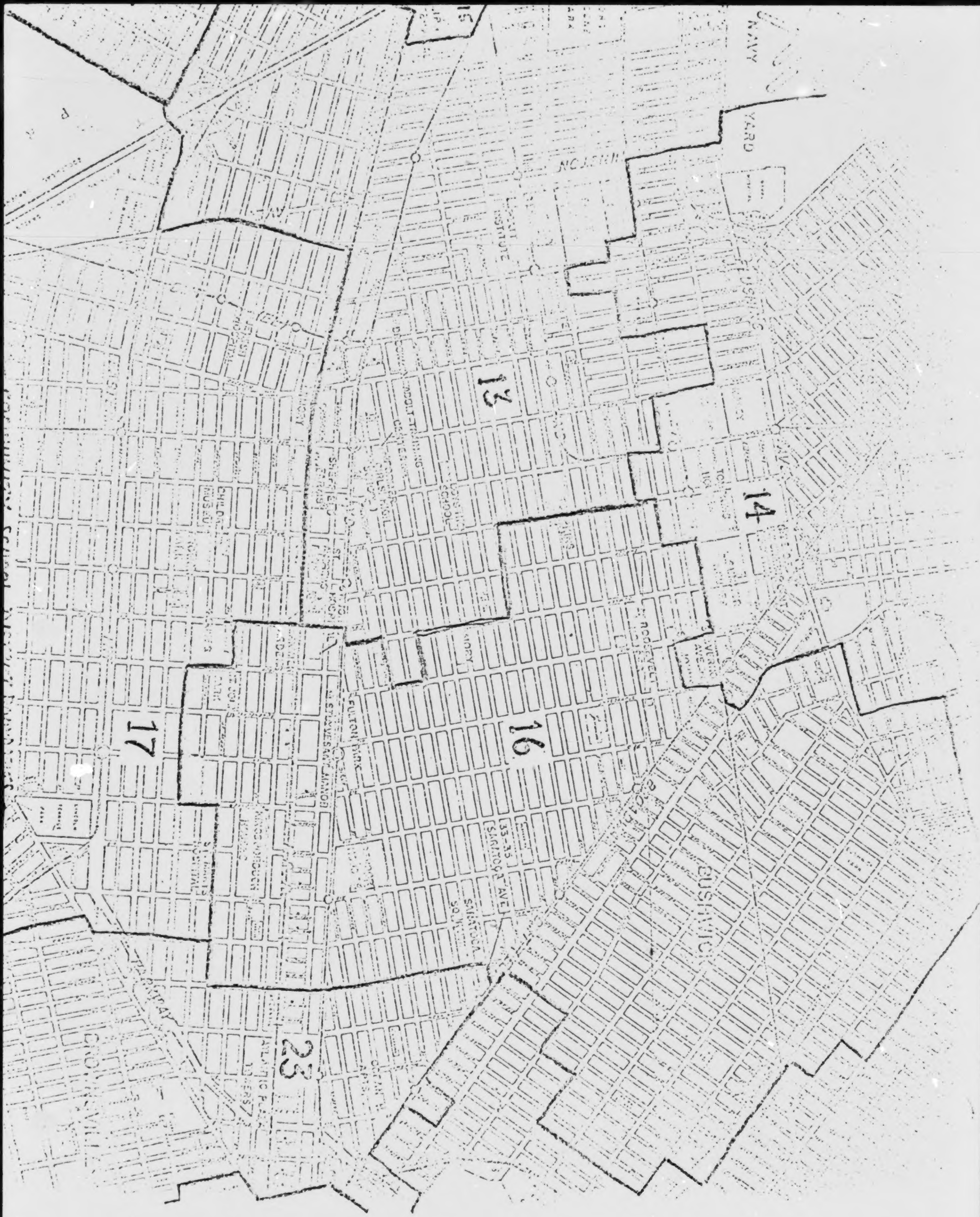
District	Enrollment		
	Pre-K & Early Childhood	Kindergarten	Total
13	356	1,185	1,541
14	297	692	989
16	576	2,163	2,739
17	120	1,187	1,297
23	127	874	1,001
			7,567

Private Day Care - There are a number of privately operated centers in Bedford-Stuyvesant. These centers are not licensed and the residents who manage private day care programs are hesitant to give out information. It is estimated that at least 400 Bedford-Stuyvesant children under the age of six, including infants, are cared for in these centers. Community Day Care at Atlantic and Nostrand Avenues enrolls over 100 children and has an excellent educational program with a high degree of parent participation. The Junior Academy at 856 Quincy, operated by Dorothy Bostic, educates children 3 to 13 years of age and has developed a preschool program. However, due to limited budgets, the quality of most private programs suffers, with the majority of private centers offering only custodial care.

The Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 (Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act) which was vetoed by President Nixon on December 9, 1971 would have provided comprehensive child development services for all of the 25,427 preschool age children of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The value of such an act for Bedford-Stuyvesant is discussed in Appendix I.

2. Public Elementary and Intermediate (Junior High) Education

As the two maps on the following pages indicate, there are five public school districts that extend into the area and operate a total of 38 elementary and eight intermediate schools


15
NAVY
YARD
INSTITUTE
13
14
16
17
23
FULTON PARK
STUYVESANT
SARATOGA AVE
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BUSHWICK
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ATLANTIC PLAZA
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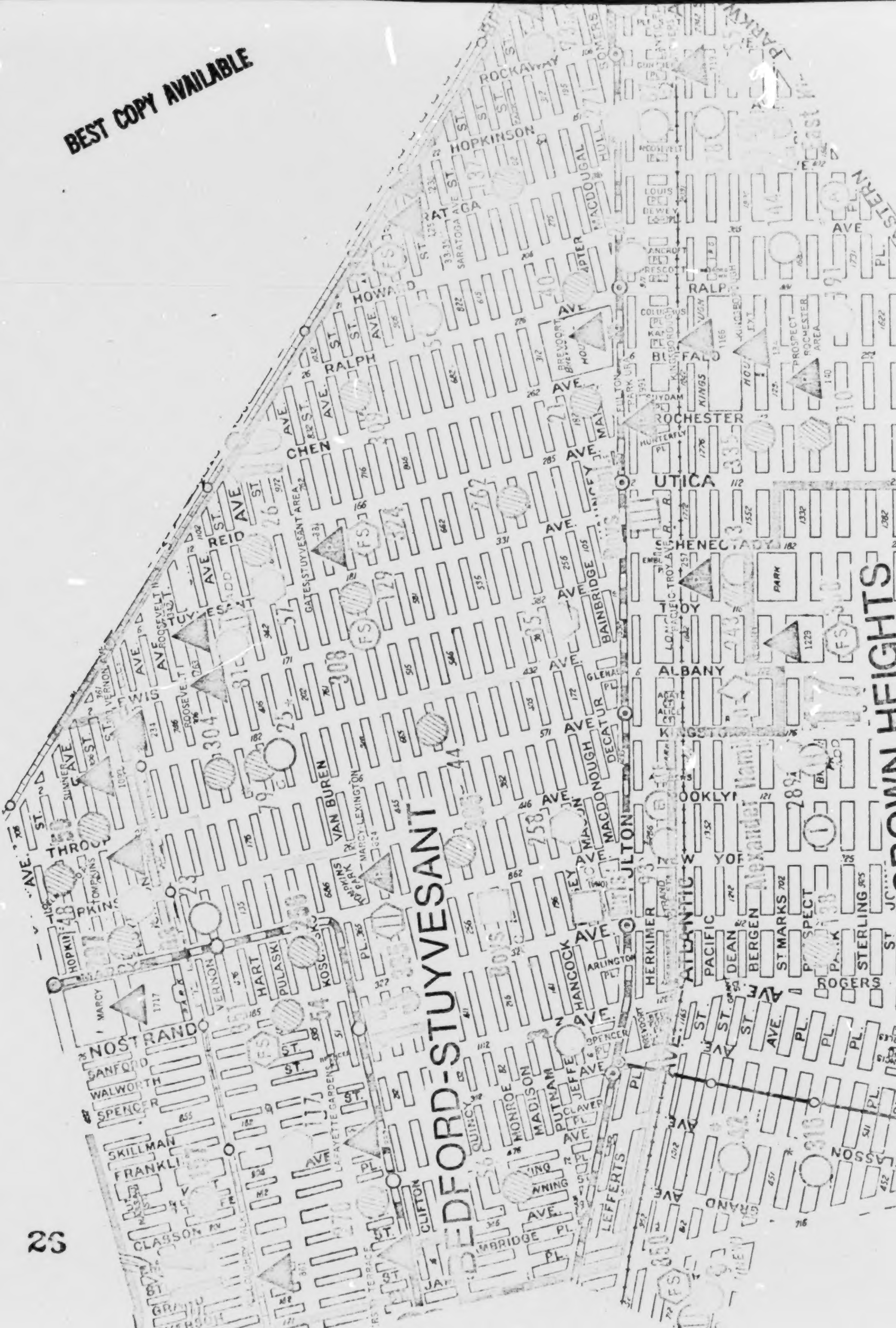
BEDFORD-STUYVESANT
CROWN HEIGHTS
GATES-STUYVESANT AREA
ROCHESTER AREA
ROCKAWAY
HOPKINSON
SARATOGA
HOWARD
RALPH
CHEN
REID
STUYVESANT
LEWIS
SUMNER
THROOP
TOMPKINS
MARCY
NOSTRAND
SANFORD
WALWORTH
SPENCER
SKILLMAN
FRANKLIN
CLASSON
VERNON
HART
PULASKI
KOSCIUSKO
VAN BUREN
LEXINGTON
LAFAYETTE GARDENS
CLIFTON
QUINCY
MONROE
MADISON
PUTNAM
JEFFERSON
CLAVER
HANCOCK
MACON
MACDONOUGH
DECATUR
BAINBRIDGE
MACDOUGAL
HULL
SOMERS
BREVOORT
FULTON
HERKIMER
ATLANTIC
PACIFIC
DEAN
BERGEN
ST MARKS
PROSPECT
PARK
STERLING
ROGERS
NOSTRAND
UTICA
SCHENECTADY
TROY
ALBANY
KINGSTON
BROOKLYN
NEW YORK
BUFFALO
ROCHESTER
RALPH
LEFFERTS
ARLINGTON
GRAND
EASTERN PARKWAY
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PARK
1229
1166
1717

within the Bedford-Stuyvesant boundaries. The data we have obtained on these schools and their districts (Tables I - VII) tell us much about the area, its people, and the quality of public education in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

There are over 58,000 children in the elementary and intermediate schools of Bedford-Stuyvesant. There are 3,348 teachers employed in these public schools, which makes the New York City Board of Education the largest single employer in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. That public education in Bedford-Stuyvesant is failing, is evident from the 1971 reading and math scores, Tables I and II. Approximately 78.5% or, 45,543children, are reading below the national norm; and 80.6% or, 46,761 children are doing math below the national norm. As the children advance from grade to grade, more and more fall behind.

Comments on Second Grade Reading, 1971, Table I:

Of Bedford-Stuyvesant's 36 reporting elementary schools, in only 10, are the second graders averaging on or above the national second grade norm in their reading scores; more than two-thirds of the schools are below level, from one to six months behind. Using median score as the criteria, in only two schools is the median comparable to the national average; 34 schools are below the norm, from one to eight months behind.

Comments on Fourth Grade Reading 1971, Table I:

As we look two grades beyond the second to the fourth grade, there are fewer schools (only two) up to the national norm. The children in the below-norm schools are further behind, from two months to one year, seven months. In only one school (P.S. 138) is the median fourth grade score up to the national norm. The children in the other schools are behind from one month to one year, nine months.

Comments on Sixth Grade Reading 1971, Table I:

Reaching further up the grade ladder to sixth grade, none of the schools are up to the national norm, either on the mean or median score level. The slippage increases from seven months behind to two years, five months. Of 19 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting, 13 schools show a mean score in excess of one year behind; seven schools are more than two years behind. With respect to median scores, 18 are one year or more behind, 9 are more then two years behind.

Comments on Eighth Grade Reading 1971, Table I:

At the eighth grade, none of the schools are up to national norm, either mean or median. The slippage increases further from one year, six months to three years, nine months.

Of the eight intermediate or junior Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting, all show a mean score in excess of one year behind, seven schools are more than two years behind, and two schools are more than three years behind. With respect to median scores, all are one year or more behind, seven are more than two years behind, and six are more than three years behind the norm.

Math follows much the same pattern as reading; more and more children fall behind, as we examine the math scores, beginning with the third graders and progressing to the eighth grade. However, reading slippage is greater than math.

Comments on Third Grade Math 1971, Table II:

Of 37 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting, in only one (P.S. 270) is the third grade doing math on or above level. The remaining schools range from one month to one year and one month below the national norm, in both mean and median scores.

Comments on Fifth Grade Math 1971, Table II:

In the fifth grade, only one Bedford-Stuyvesant school, P.S. 262 is doing math on or above level. The other schools range from three months to two years behind in mean and median scoring.

Comments on Sixth Grade Math, 1971, Table II:

As in reading, no Bedford-Stuyvesant schools are doing sixth grade math on or above level. The range of slippage is four months to two years in mean scoring and seven months to two years, one month in median scoring.

Out of 17 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting, 13 schools are a year or more behind in their mean scores and 15 are a year or more behind in median scores. Though children in the earlier grades are further behind in math than in reading, by the sixth grade level, children are further behind in reading than in math.

Comment on Eighth Grade Math, 1971, Table II:

Of 7 Bedford-Stuyvesant intermediate or junior highs reporting, all are at least a year and a half below norm in both mean and median scoring. The slippage is as high as three years three months in mean scoring and three years six months in median scoring.

Reading and Math Trends; Comments on Table V:

Of 32 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting their fifth grade mean reading scores in 1968 and 1971, eight improved, five remained the same, and 19 declined over the three year period. More than half of the reporting schools slipped from one month to one and one-half years. Math trends, on the contrary, showed general improvement. Of 15 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting 6th grade math scores as of 1967 and 1971, all showed improvement, from one month to a year and nine months. Investigation reveals that the math exam was changed during the interim.

Comments on the Correlation between Reading and Math Scores:

There is a reading and math performance correlation in 38 out of 44 reporting Bedford-Stuyvesant schools.

There are four schools, P.S. 270, 297, 40, 262, in which the children are reading and doing math so that between 30 and 40% of the students are at or above grade level. On the other hand, there are three low performing schools, I.S. 258, 33, 210, where only 10% or less are reading and doing math at or above grade level.

In between, the better performing Bedford-Stuyvesant schools, there are eleven schools, P.S. 54, 256, 157, 5, 25, 28, 304, 309, 23, 155, 178 in which children are reading and doing math, so that between 10 and 20% of the students are on or above grade. There are ten schools, P.S. 44, 305, 23, 148, 21, 29, 243, 138, 144 and I.S. 55, in which the children are reading and doing math so that between 20 and 30% are on or above grade level. Despite the performance correlation cited above, the two Bedford-Stuyvesant schools which have the best record for children reading at or above level (P.S. 335, 41.5% and P.S. 167, 44.6%) have considerably lower math scores (P.S. 335, 27.7% doing math at or above level and P.S. 167, 27.5% doing math at or above level).

The data we have been able to obtain in Tables I through VII do not readily indicate why some schools show better academic performance than others. In the selected characteristics of Table IV, for example, the better schools (P.S. 270, 297, 40, 262, 335, and 167) are not significantly distinguishable from the lower performing schools (I.S. 258, 33 and 210).

We do not conclude from this comparison that the better performing schools are the elementary schools. On the contrary, our experience and the data indicate to us that the elementary schools are not providing an adequate foundation in basic education. The early defects and failures show up more as the child advances in grade level. Intermediate schools should not have to teach children how to read; this basic skill should have been acquired by the time a child has reached the fifth grade.

We will later describe what we think is the cause for academic failure in Bedford-Stuyvesant schools in our detailed discussion of the teacher, the pupil, and school administration. At this point however, the data in Table IV and V point to signs of trouble within the system.

High Pupil Turnover: Though pupil register totals in individual schools remained relatively constant from June 30, 1968 to June 30, 1971, columns 6 and 7 of Table IV indicate that in 43 out of 46 Bedford-Stuyvesant elementary and intermediate schools, there was a pupil turnover of 50% or more during the 1971 school year. Compare the average daily register of these schools with students added to the original register and students discharged from the original register; usually, over half the average daily register is added to, or subtracted from, during the course of the school year.

Another source of pupil turnover is shifts in the ethnic population of the schools. Though all Bedford-Stuyvesant schools are high in ethnic minority populations, the greatest ethnic population shifts (more than 10 percentage points between 1967 and 1971) have occured in the intermediate schools (I.S. 117, 258, 33, 210 and 271) where reading level performance is at its lowest.

Teacher Turnover: The Board of Education, Office of Personnel, no longer collects data on teacher turnover. Although we cannot pinpoint teacher turnover more precisely at this point without doing a careful school by school survey, our own experience in Bedford-Stuyvesant tells us teacher turnover is high. For example, at I.S. 55, teacher turnover has been as high as 20% per year, since the school opened in February 1968. Though teacher turnover does affect school stability, a 20% teacher turnover is not bad in itself, unless it is the better teachers who are continually on the move and the poorer, more inexperienced teachers who are coming in - a point that will be discussed later in the chapter on the teacher.

Organizational Climate in the Schools: There is no barometer for gauging educational environment or indicating how the schools operate on a day to day basis. The data at hand indicate that the system is in a turmoil of confusion because of the high pupil and teacher turnover, and the day to day pupil and teacher absentees. School leadership is also experiencing its own form of turnover. Of 45 Bedford-Stuyvesant schools reporting, 31 schools had made changes of principals during the period 1967 and 1971. District leadership also changed constantly; since decentralization, 18 out of 31 superintendents have left their positions - including all 5 district superintendents of schools within Bedford-Stuyvesant.

School Size and Utilization: School capacity and enrollment have remained relatively constant from 1967-1971, with capacity keeping slightly ahead of enrollment. However, the schools which have the largest capacity (1800-2000), the most overcrowding and the lowest academic scores are the intermediate schools.

Though future building plans are concentrated in the intermediate school division where overcrowding is greatest, our experience tells us that an 1800 to 2000 pupil-planned capacity is too large for an orderly educational environment, especially at the intermediate school age level.

3. High School Education in Bedford-Stuyvesant

Bedford-Stuyvesant is a city the size of Oakland, California or Louisville, Kentucky. Though there are approximately 28,000 young people of high school age, there are only two public high schools within the Bedford-Stuyvesant boundaries. Boys High, an academic high school has an enrollment of 2,731. Alexander Hamilton, a vocational high school has an enrollment of 928. Bedford-Stuyvesant girls must travel outside of Bedford-Stuyvesant for their high school education.

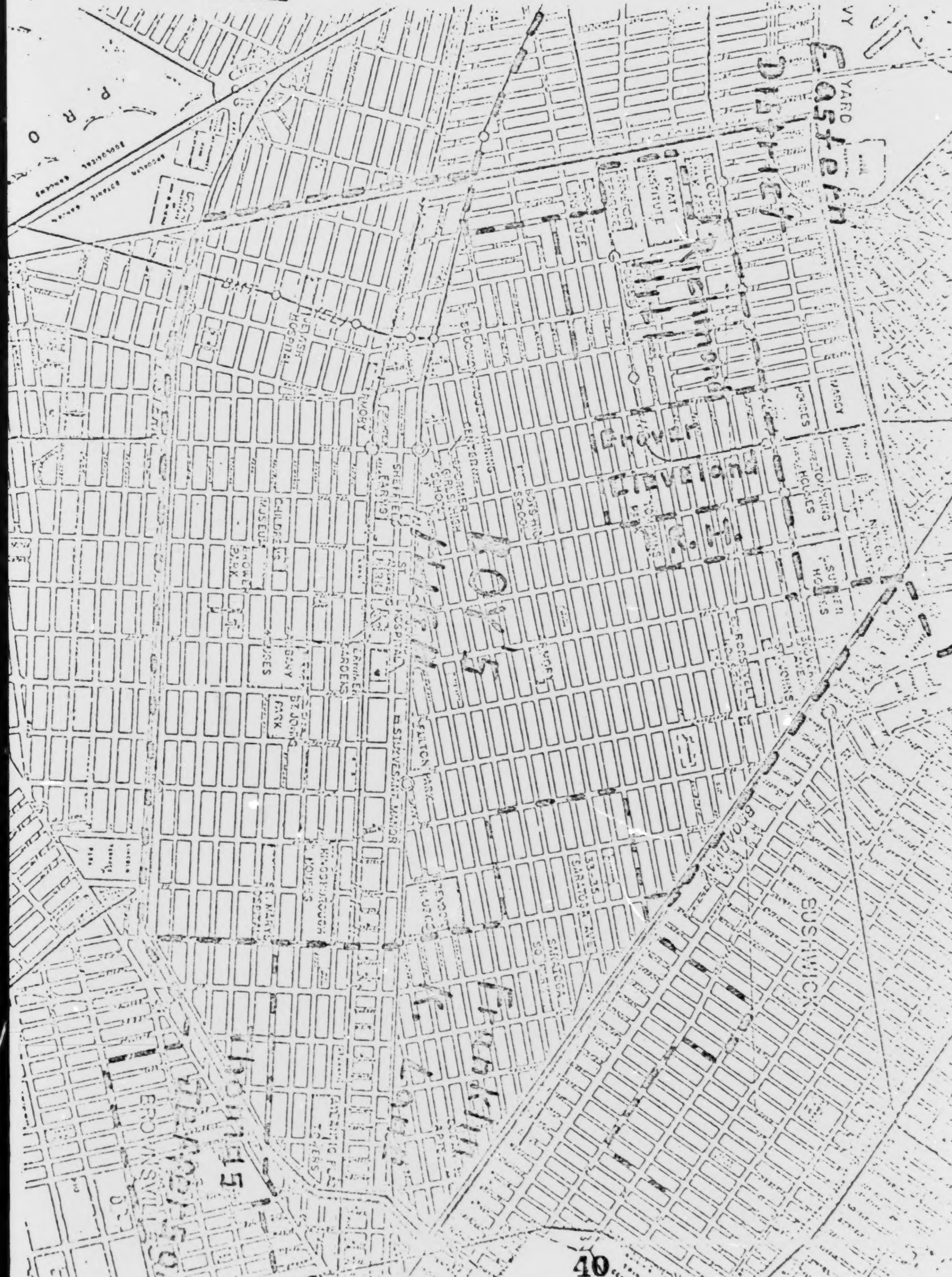
When asked why there was only one academic (Boys) high school in a city as large as Bedford-Stuyvesant, Nathan Brown, former Executive Deputy Superintendent of Schools answered: "Because it was the policy of the Board (of Education) not to establish another totally Black high school in the City."

The construction of Boys High was completed in 1910. Though the building is a fine example of baroque architecture, it is no longer adequate as a high school.

Boys High is over utilized (115%) and is presently operating on two overlapping sessions. A coeducational replacement for Boys High, having a capacity of 4,000 students, is scheduled to open about a mile away from old Boys High in September 1974.

Meanwhile Bedford-Stuyvesant high school students who do not attend Boys High, or Prospect Heights (a high school for girls just outside the Southwest corner of Bedford-Stuyvesant) are zoned to other academic high schools or apply to special high schools or vocational high schools.

The map on the following page indicates the 1971-72 zoning of academic high schools. Of the twenty-three academic high schools in Brooklyn, Bedford-Stuyvesant students are zoned to Franklin K. Lane, in the Northeast corner of Brooklyn, Thomas Jefferson in East New York, and Eastern District in Williamsburg. Two high schools in Queens, Richmond Hill and Grover Cleveland, accept students from two small zones in Northwestern Bedford-Stuyvesant.


Eastern District
YARD
PRATT INSTITUTE
JEWISH HOSPITAL
ARMORY
CHILDREN'S MUSEUM
BROWER PARK
GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL
BOYS HIGH SCHOOL
ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL
FULTON PARK
STUYVESANT
KINGSBOROUGH HOUSES
ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL
SARATOGA AVE
SARATOGA SQ. PARK
ROOSEVELT HOUSES
SUMNER HOUSES
MARCY
BROADWAY
BUSHWICK
15

The City's four special high schools, the Bronx High School of Science, Stuyvesant High School, Brooklyn Technical High School, and the High School of Music and Art accept the higher-than-average academically qualified students from all boroughs on the basis of a competitive exam. Two more special schools have recently been established within existing schools for qualifying Brooklyn students, Erasmus Hall High School and Samuel J. Tilden. Erasmus will offer a special program in the arts for 180 students, and Tilden will have a school of political science for 100 students. John Dewey, an experimental academic "independent study" high school which opened in Coney Island in 1969, accepts qualifying Brooklyn students and its enrollment is designed to reflect the ethnic composition of the borough.

To alleviate overcrowding and to promote integration in Brooklyn's academic high schools, an Open Admissions Program has been scheduled for September 1972. Eligible junior high and intermediate school students, including students zoned for Boys High, Franklin K. Lane and

Eastern District High Schools, are being given the opportunity to attend either their locally zoned school or one of a cluster of selected underutilized academic schools. For example, some students zoned for Boys High have the option of attending Boys High (male students), Sheepshead Bay, Abraham Lincoln, New Utrecht, Prospect Heights (girls) or Bay Ridge High School (girls). The program is new, and eligible students are being placed in high schools on a random selection basis.

Students desiring to enter vocational school attend the high school nearest their homes that offer the job-preparatory course of study they wish to follow. Bedford Stuyvesant's only vocational high school Alexander Hamilton, offers courses in architectural drafting, building construction, mechanical design, electrical installation, machine shop, printing, carpentry, foundry work and sheet metal. The seven other Brooklyn vocational schools that accept Bedford-Stuyvesant youth offer courses ranging from practical nursing at Clara Barton and business education at Sarah J. Hale to automechanics at Automative and computer technology at George Westinghouse High School.

Separate facilities for academic studies and vocational studies have caused problems for students deciding to change midway through high school. In addition, the image of the New York City vocational high school has been hurt by the manner in which so many minority students have been directed to them. Furthermore, the abstract nature of so much of the program content in academic high schools is probably one of the strongest reasons for unrest in the academic high schools. Occupational education and experiences in real work situations can reduce the restlessness that comes from taking courses that students believe "lead nowhere."

Consequently, plansto combine both academic and vocational courses of study and to make every high school a comprehensive high school by 1975 has been on the Board of Education drawing boards since 1965. The separate high schools themselves continue to resist the merger.

A trend we have noted in our study of elementary and intermediate schools holds true for high schools: the longer students stay in school, the further they fall behind.

By the time they are in high school, nearly half the student body (an "estimated" 48%) at Boys High (Table VIII) is reading two or more years below grade level. At Alexander Hamilton vocational high school, the percentage increases to 65.5%.

Because success in school depends so much upon reading ability, it is not surprising that the dropout rate is high. In 1971, the City graduated only 66.5% of the original class of '71. The academic schools serving Bedford-Stuyvesant graduated only 36.4% of the original class. Boys High had one of the highest dropout rates in the City, with 70.7% of the original class dropping out before graduation.[8]

In addition to the low percentage of students graduating, there is but a small percentage of graduates receiving the academic or normal college preparatory diploma. In 1970, 41% of the City's high school graduates received academic diplomas, while only 21% of the graduates from the high schools serving Bed-Stuy received academic diplomas.[9]

As he enters high school, the student is theoretically permitted to choose among five basic types of programs: academic, general, commercial, technical and vocational. The academic program is college preparatory. Those who have enough credits to graduate, but don't qualify for the academic diploma receive the general diploma. This diploma is adequate for college entrance, but to the prospective employer or college admissions officer the general diploma indicates, "low achiever."

Most of Bedford-Stuyvesant high school students receive the general diploma. One reason for this is the low achievement level of the student as he enters high school. Theoretically, the student's record in junior high school is no bar to entering the academic program. However, in most high schools, students who fail to have a junior high diploma or who are two or more years behind in reading are not admitted to the academic program. In addition, changing from a lower to a higher track in high school is extremely difficult, requiring extensive remedial work, and in general is not encouraged by the high schools.

Another reason for the lower percentage of Bedford-Stuyvesant students obtaining academic diplomas is lack of adequate counselling in the selection of high school courses and programs. Students are not made sufficiently aware of the courses that best prepare them for college or chosen career; they are not sufficiently impressed about the importance of college entrance and placement exams, the dates they are given, the fees charged and how to prepare for them; they don't realize the limited value of the general diploma until they apply for college or begin looking for a job.

Because of the long standing objections to the second-class status of general diplomas, beginning in June 1973, only one diploma will be offered, replacing the academic, general and commercial diplomas presently awarded in academic high schools. To maintain high school educational standards, there will be essential requirements of four years of English, three and one-half years of social studies, and two years of math and science, plus additional courses in practical arts, art, music, hygiene and health education. In addition, students will have to be reading at eighth grade level and have obtained passing grades on the Regents, City-wide, or approved school-wide exams.

The reverse side of the new diplomas will state that the student has passed four years of English, three and one-half years of social studies and a comprehensive exam in his major field of study. A student needs at least a 65% average and 33 credits to graduate. If the student's average is 80% or better he can graduate with merit; if 85% or better he can graduate with honors. Those who don't get diplomas will probably be awarded "certificates."

Though the new policy of one diploma is designed to remove the stigma attached to the general diploma, it is anticipated that less diplomas will be awarded to Bedford-Stuyvesant students under the new plan. Too many of the young people enter high school unprepared and too far behind to qualify. Some see the new single diploma as working a greater wrong on Bedford-Stuyvesant students than the general diploma. At least with a general diploma, the low achievers had a chance for college. Without a diploma at all, the road ends.

The indexes of serious problems in the elementary and junior high schools are also high in the high schools. For example, pupil turnover, or "transiency" at Boys High, was 67.1% during the 1969-70 school year (Table VIII). A visitor to Boys High on a regular school day would find 45% of the student body absent (Table VIII).

Moreover, the high schools are confronted with increasing incidents of violence and drug abuse. High school principals recently reported that over 5,000 violent acts, including assaults on students and teachers, gang fights and drug-related incidents occurred in New York City high schools during the past school year (1971-72).[10] Comptroller Abraham D. Beam's office released a study in July of 1971 which estimated that a third of the City's high school students were involved to some degree with drugs. Among the high schools having the greatest amount of drug traffic was Thomas Jefferson High School in East New York.[11]

High schools are not responsive to local community school boards because under the decentralization law they remain, temporarily at least, under the operational responsibilities of the Chancellor and Central Board. When Chancellor Harvey B. Scribner appointed a team to investigate the causes of high school student unrest, they reported that the high schools were not providing "viable programs for a large segment of the student population."[12]

Among the observations made by the team, the following were listed under "Curriculum":

- Most academic high schools had the traditional academic program with few alternatives for those not going to college.
- There were few effective bilingual programs.
- Few schools had special programs geared to the needs of "difficult" students or others who seemed to be unmotivated by the standard curriculum.

- Curriculum innovations and special offerings reach too small a percentage of the school populations. Elective subjects are restricted, in most high schools, to the senior year.
- Extra-curricula programs are hindered by multiple sessions. The extended travel time required for many students inhibits active participation in after-school programs.

Chancellor Scribner has introduced a number of innovations in the City's high schools. Among them are:

- Mini-schools - the breaking down of 2,100 member student body into 14 self-contained semi-autonomous units or mini-schools of 150 students, each having its own faculty and classrooms. The experiment at Haaren High School in Manhattan, now in its second year, is the most notable example.
- Satellite academies - classes that meet in office buildings of banks, insurance companies, brokerage houses, communication

companies, and hospitals. In Brooklyn, Wingate High School has a satellite academy, called Wingate Prep.

- Alternative schools - a smaller school of about 150 volunteer students carved out of an existing high school with staff and students from the parent high school, but its own location. There are a total of 22 such schools, with only one in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a Boys alternative just starting up in September 1972.

Dr. Scribner has also suggested other innovations such as:

- The open campus[13] - a high school that operates from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. all year around, with each student free to decide how fast he wants to advance toward his diploma.
- A modified external degree program by which high school credits would be given for part-time outside work and other non-school learning

experiences such as travel, personal research projects or tutoring.

The Fleischmann Commission has recently recommended a fundamental reorganization of the State's secondary schools to end a system that leaves tens of thousands of young people "with neither the prospect of continued study nor a marketable skill."[14]

It was recommended that each pupil from the seventh through the 10th grade pursue a course of study built around a core curriculum of reading, English composition and mathematics to accomplish the unfinished business of the elementary schools and insure a firm foundation. On entering the 11th grade the pupil would have a choice of vocational training, the usual academic program, or intensive preparation for early college entrance--the general "track" which is neither vocational nor academic would be eliminated.

Despite these and other efforts to bring about change, the high schools remain, in Charles E. Silberman's words, "the worst of all."

Boys High, as the statistics in Table VIII indicate, is one of the "worst." To date the innovations introduced by Dr. Scribner have not trickled down to Boys High. The Board of Education and the High School Office have not shown the kind of concern that brings about constructive change. It has remained the lonely task of the principal and his staff to generate their own innovative steam.

The assistant principal has approached the Corporations to provide ways of getting the students involved with Bedford-Stuyvesant businesses and institutions in more meaningful "real word" situations. A Boys High Reorganization Committee was recently established[15] to deal with curriculum innovation, teacher selection, and the dropout problem. This Committee is composed of parents, students, faculty, interested representatives from Districts 13 and 16, and a representative of the Board of Education's New York City Regional Center for Planning and Innovation.

Boys High has been in Bedford-Stuyvesant for 62 years and is searching for new and effective ways of educating.

When the new High School opens in 1974 it must not simply be a new building that perpetuates the old problems. The Corporations and other Bedford-Stuyvesant individuals and groups have an opportunity to offer their support.

4. Higher Education

There are an estimated 45 private colleges, including technical, law, liberal arts, medical, and music schools, in New York City. Seven of these are located in Brooklyn, including Pratt Institute in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Due in part to the strict entrance requirements and more particularly to the high tuition rates, very few Bedford-Stuyvesant high school graduates attend private colleges. For example, the cost for a commuting student taking 18 credits at Pratt Institute is almost $1,200 per semester.

The City University system (CUNY), which is tuition-free to matriculated City residents, operates 10 senior (4-year) colleges and 8 community (2-year) schools. In addition to Medgar Evers, which opened in Bedford-Stuyvesant in September, 1971, three of the colleges are in Brooklyn; Brooklyn College, Kingsboro Community College and New York City Community College. Although it is a senior college, Medgar Evers also offers two-year courses of study in secretarial science, liberal arts, and science. In September 1972, Brooklyn College will offer two-year programs in liberal arts and contemporary studies.

The Brooklyn Urban Center, designed to prepare high school graduates for college, is a State-financed program affiliated with and administered by New York City Community College.

Before 1970

Prior to CUNY's implementation of an open admissions policy in 1970, few Bedford-Stuyvesant students matriculated in the City University system.

Ethnic Composition of CUNY's Freshman Class, 1967-70[16]

	Before Open Admissions			After O. A.
	Fall, 1967	Fall, 1968	Fall, 1969	Fall, 1970, Est.
White & Other:	91.0%	87.3%	82.9%	66.7%
Black:	5.8	8.0	10.0	21.7
Puerto Rican:	2.4	3.3	4.0	11.7

(Non-respondents not included in % totals)

Entrance requirements for the senior colleges, including Brooklyn College, were as follows:

1. A minimum of one year's residency in New York State;
2. Attainment of a minimum composite score (based on SAT scores and high school average);

3. High school diploma, including 16 credits in specific courses.

Students were admitted in order of merit. (The cut-off point varied with each college, depending upon the number of applicants.)

Entrance requirements for the Community Colleges varied, although a high school or equivalent diploma was required by all. These requirements were less stringent than the senior colleges'. Students could choose between two types of programs, the transfer program, which parallels the liberal arts or business curricula of CUNY's senior colleges and assures students of entrance into a senior college upon graduation, or the career program, which grants students an A.A. degree upon completion. Among the courses of study in the career program are: accounting, business administration, commercial art, secretarial science, and data processing. The majority of Black and Puerto Rican students qualifying for entrance into CUNY followed the career program in the community colleges.

To enable talented but unprepared students to enter CUNY, in 1964 the College Discovery Program was implemented. Students, identified and selected while in high school, were given individual counseling and placed in a community college. While in college, the counselling continued, in addition to remedial services. Students were given stipends, depending upon need. To be eligible for placement in college a student had to meet certain requirements:

1. High school or equivalency diploma;
2. Minimum of one year's residency in New York City;
3. No previous college experience;
4. Under 30 years of age;
5. Unable to qualify for matriculation at CUNY, apart from the College Discovery Program.

In 1967 there were 140 College Discovery students attending Kingsboro Community College and 225 students attending New York City Community College.[17]

Then in 1966, the New York State Legislature provided funds for another program to help talented, but unprepared students: SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge).

Eligibility requirements were the same as College Discovery, except that the student had to live in a designated poverty area. Students were placed in one of CUNY's senior colleges or a community college transfer program. Special services, including counseling, remedial courses, and stipends, were provided. (Due to the large number of applicants, selection of participants in the two programs was made by lottery.) In 1967, there were 154 Brooklyn College students enrolled through the SEEK program, as well as 14 SEEK students attending Kingsboro and 66 students attending New York City Community College.[18] Approximately 40% of SEEK students have earned diplomas, a figure not much lower than the national average of 50%.[19]

Despite the successes of the SEEK and College Discovery Programs, the majority of Black and Puerto Rican high school graduates were not enrolled in any institution of higher learning. In 1967, only 3% of the matriculated students at Brooklyn College were Black or Puerto Rican. The figures for the Kingsboro and New York City Community Colleges were 11.4% and 23.7%, respectively.[20]

In 1968 and 1969, there were numerous violent confrontations between CUNY administrators and minority groups, particularly at City College. The decision was made to implement an Open Admissions policy in September of 1970, rather than the scheduled 1975.

Open Admissions: September, 1970

Under Open Admissions, anyone (a) with a high school or equivalency diploma dated 1970 or later, and (b) a resident of New York City, could matriculate at one of CUNY's colleges. It was hoped that this would put an end to *de facto* segregation in the City University.

Students with a high school average of 80% or better or in the top half of their class would be placed in a senior college. The remaining students would attend a community college, under either the transfer or the career program.

It was reasoned that Open Admissions would not only enable an increased number of minority students to matriculate, but would also result in a more equitable distribution of minority students among CUNY's senior and community colleges. However, Black and Puerto Rican enrollment at CUNY is still limited by the fact that almost 80% of the City's high school graduates are white.[21] Due to their poor high school records, the greater number of CUNY's 1970 Black and Puerto Rican freshmen were enrolled in community colleges.

Open Admissions was to be based on the SEEK and College Discovery models, and the following guidelines were issued:

1. Remedial and other supportive services would be provided for all students requiring them;
2. Academic standards would be maintained, and
3. Students would be provided with a wider selection of courses and programs.

In 1970, the first year of Open Admissions, 35,000 freshmen enrolled in CUNY, representing an increase of 15,000 students from the previous year. Of these 35,000 freshmen, 2,500 were enrolled in SEEK.[22] For the first time in the City's history, 76% of the City's high school graduates were enrolled in an institution of higher learning.[23]

The need for remedial courses was made evident by the fact that 60% of the freshman class had high school averages below 80%. About half required remedial reading and/or math. Three thousand, an estimated 8.6%, were reading below 9th grade level, and over 7,000, about 20%, could not do math above an 8th grade level.[24] Black and Puerto Rican enrollment increased 123%, and comprised about one-fourth of the freshman class.[25]

At the end of the first year, about 21%, or 10,000, students left CUNY. This was approximately the same percentage as left the previous year (before Open Admissions) and was below the national norm. However, the attrition did not provide an answer as to whether Open Admissions would be an "open door" or a "revolving door," since the policy was not to dismiss students admitted under the new program during the first three semesters, regardless of grades.

In 1971, there were 40,000 freshmen enrolled in CUNY, approximately 12,000 of whom would not have qualified prior to 1970. There were 3,820 Black and Puerto Ricans in this class, representing almost 45% of the entire Black and Puerto Rican student population at CUNY.[26]

This same year, Medgar Evers College, located in Bedford-Stuyvesant, opened its doors to 675 freshmen, the majority of whom were residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant. Ninety-six percent of the freshman class would not have qualified before Open Admissions.[27]

Among the courses offered at this new college are administration and management, creative arts, teacher education, and pre-law. In the future, nursing, pharmacy and medical technology will be added to the curriculum.

The concept of Medgar Evers is to be involved in the community by being accessible to the residents and serving their needs. The 28 members of the incorporated Community Council for Medgar Evers College are leading Central Brooklyn residents and were involved in the curriculum planning and site selection for the new college.

The College will be open six days a week, twelve months a year. Although the central location will be at 1150 Carroll Street (formerly Brooklyn Prep), classes will be held in various locations throughout Bedford-Stuyvesant. Individual counseling, placement tests and remedial courses will be offered.

The curriculum is designed to best meet the needs of Central Brooklyn residents. For example, the teacher education program will prepare residents to staff Bedford-Stuyvesant's elementary and secondary schools. In addition to the remedial courses, students will study liberal arts and take professional courses; depending upon their fields of interest. Each student will be placed in a part-time job related to his field of concentration. Course-related work will average 16 to 20 hours a week and pay a stipend of $2 an hour.

Despite the fact that Open Admissions has increased the enrollment of minority students, there have been many problems, due primarily to inadequate time for planning and insufficient funds. However, one of the major criticisms is of a lowering of academic standards. Proponents of the new policy answer this objection by noting that the acceptance of students with poor high school records will not, in itself, lower academic standards, as proven by the SEEK and College Discovery programs. The key is to provide CUNY students with the remedial and other supportive services they need to succeed in college, not to lower qualifications for a degree.

Gradually, many critics of open admissions, as such, are becoming less fearful. As William Sherwood, Chairman of Richmond College's English Department noted, "The main issue at this point is not whether open admissions is philosophically sound. It is how the program is to be implemented."[28]

Most people are now focusing their attention on the actual implementation of the program, realizing that inadequate planning, not open admissions _per se_, may eventually affect the University's academic standards. In this regard, one question that has arisen concerns how many, if any, credits should be given for remedial work. It would be demoralizing for a freshman to spend the greater part of his time and effort on remedial work and receive no credit for it. At the same time, if a substantial number of the students' credits were for remedial work, this would lower academic standards.

As already noted, remedial services are basic to a successful open admissions program. Based on a test administered to high school seniors planning to enter CUNY in September 1970, 50% required such services, including a large number of students who would have been accepted prior to the new policy.

During the summer, courses and workshops were held for the new remedial faculty members. However, some teachers later reported that these workshops alone were not adequate.[29] As a result, many of the remedial teachers used the same techniques that were unsuccessful in the high schools.

Funds to provide for Open Admission students were allocated to the colleges in lump sums, and each college was allowed to decide the amount and type of remedial work to be offered.

Therefore, the programs vary greatly, with some schools offering a great deal and others offering virtually nothing.

Part of the problem was lack of funds to hire a sufficient number of remedial teachers; another was lack of space. In addition, some schools did not hire any additional counselors.

The attitude of a number of teachers has also been at fault. These teachers, expecting minority students to fail, do little to help them succeed.

As already noted, the lack of adequate funds has been responsible for a large part of the problem. Although better planning can result in improvement of existing services and better utilization of classroom space, funds are needed to hire additional remedial teachers and counselors, as well as to provide needed cafeteria and study space.

The 1970-71 budget for CUNY was $320 million. It was based on an expected enrollment of 30,000 freshmen. However, the actual freshman class had 5,000 more students, and CUNY was therefore short an estimated $11 million.[30]

By 1980 CUNY's budget will probably reach $1 billion. Deputy Chancellor Seymour Hyman justified this increase by comparing Open Admissions with the moonshot. He noted that the investments in Open Admissions will be "just as significant in lifting the quality of life for those who inhabit this planet as were the multibillion investments (New York State taxpayers) made at Cape Kennedy."[31]

The President of Medgar Evers College, Richard Trent, has stated that Governor Rockefeller's proposed freeze for CUNY's 1972-73 budget will hinder the College's ability to implement several projects already committed. There are also an estimated 500 freshmen enrolling in the College this September, requiring an additional million dollars in funds.[32] The entire City University system shares the same problem as Medgar Evers. If additional funds are not provided, remedial courses cannot be improved and expanded, nor can additional teachers and space be provided.

Another aspect of the financial problem concerns the students. Although Open Admissions enables City students to matriculate and, therefore, pay no tuition, a greater percentage require jobs or financial aid to pay the costs of registration, transportation, and books. The consolidated fee for special services, not including transportation and books, for 1971-72 was between $35 and $65 per semester, depending upon the college. [33]

Despite these problems, CUNY has been praised by many for its new policy. Open Admissions, as well as Medgar Evers, has given many high school graduates from Bedford-Stuyvesant their only hope for a college education and a successful future. Open Admissions has also made more evident the failure of the City's elementary and secondary schools. The long-range impact of Open Admissions on these schools will not be known for some time. However, its immediate impact and its immediate success will be made public in the fall of 1972, upon the release of a two-year research evaluation by the American Council on Education.

5. Compensatory Education

For the past seven years millions of dollars have been poured into Bedford-Stuyvesant school districts, over and above tax levy monies, in the form of Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I and III funds and, since 1969, State Urban Education program funds. These supplementary[34] funds are designed to help pupils who are behind in their schooling by reason of poverty.

For the 1972-73 school year, New York City anticipated $80.4 million in ESEA Title I monies, distributed by formula to those educationally deprived children who reside in areas of high concentrations of poverty (low income families). Bedford-Stuyvesant school districts were alotted[35] the following funds:

District	Number of Eligible Educationally Deprived Children in Title I Schools	Proposed Funding
13	14,780	$4,170,326
14	17,420	4,915,229
16	19,860	5,603,700
17	10,452	2,949,138
23	13,968	1,072,208
		$18,710,601[36]

For the 1972-73 school year, New York City anticipated $39.1 million in State Urban Education monies, distributed to the Bedford-Stuyvesant educationally disadvantaged by special formula as follows:

District	Number of Eligible Children upon Which Funds are Allocated	Total Allocations
13	14,278	$1,140,711[37]
14	16,818	1,343,639
16	21,259	1,698,443
17	13,386	1,069,446
23	13,671	1,092,217
		$6,344,456

The formula for distribution under the Federal and State programs is under constant attack, since limited financial resources are concentrated in a limited number of targeted areas.[38] Rather than spread the benefits too thin, the decision has been made to focus the limited benefits on those who need it most. Bedford-Stuyvesant school children need the benefits most and continue to be included in both the Federal and State programs. Every Bedford-Stuyvesant school is a "Title I school."

To best understand how the compensatory education system works we shall examine the process in one Bedford-

Stuyvesant district (13) in some detail.

Compensatory programs in the district originate in the district, usually from a teacher, guidance counselor or a principal, more rarely from a parent or a group of parents. Occasionally, the proposal will be submitted by an outsider such as Westinghouse Learning Corporation.

During the 1971-72 school year seven Title I programs were implemented, and seven State Urban Education programs. Annual budgets for the various Title I programs, which are renewed on a year to year basis, varied from $137,000 to $1.8-million. All District 13 schools were sites for one or more of the programs. Of the Title I programs, two were aimed at helping children in their first learning experiences in pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, and first to third grades; two programs provided specialized reading assistance for children in grades three through nine in the public schools, and in nine parochial schools; one program provided saturated compensatory services (More Effective Schools - MES) in two elementary schools; two programs stressed on-the-job teacher training and minority teacher recruitment. The State Urban Education programs included reading instruction and remediation, school guidance assistance, attendance improvement, bi-lingual education, homework helpers, classroom on wheels for the handicapped, and special help for dropouts.

A District 13 Advisory Committee advises the Community School Board and Community Superintendent on assessing district needs, setting compensatory education priorities, and implementing and evaluating programs. The Committee is composed of representatives of District 13 Parent Associations; five professional organizations, including the UFT and the Afro-American Teacher Association; a non-public school representative; four Community Corporations and other community and civic organizations including Restoration and Central Brooklyn Model Cities. By federal regulation, 51% of the voting membership must be parents of Title I eligible children who attend schools in District 13, and who are not employees of the New York City Board of Education.

During 1971-72, the Committee met on the average of once every two weeks. There was always a quorum; usually about 20 persons were present. When important votes were taken on the special programs for the summer or program priorities for the school year, often as many as 40 persons would crowd into the District 13 library at 44 Court Street in Brooklyn Heights. The meetings are open and rarely dull. The business at hand involves the consideration of program proposals, their implementation and evaluation.

In the Spring of 1972 the Committee was faced with the question of advising the Community School Board and Superintendent on what programs, old and/or new should be implemented at the reduced funding rate for the 1972-73 school year. Under Title I auspices, 22 new programs were presented for funding; under State Urban Education seven new programs were presented for funding. The effectiveness of existing programs was weighed by the Committee with the assistance of the report of professional educational evaluators and the testimony of those actually implementing the programs. In addition, for Title I programs there was a "Community Resource Team," a nine-member team made up of a teacher, six educational assistants, a coordinator and a consultant which served as the "eyes and ears" of the Advisory Committee, making frequent visits to the programs-in-action and reporting back to the membership. The advocates of the new proposals were heard on the advantages of their educational programs.

The Committee was most receptive to effective programs which met the neglected basic educational needs of large numbers of District 13 children. The Advisory Committee voted the following priorities for funding:

Title I .

1. Reading Assistance
2. Strengthened Early Childhood
3. Pre-kindergarten
4. Staff Training
5. Student (teacher) Intern

State Urban Education

1. Guidance Assistance
2. Reading Diagnostic Centers
3. Attendance Improvements
4. Bi-lingual Program
5. Homework Helpers
6. Classroom on Wheels
7. Adult Educational Centers (dropouts)

All of these programs were recycled "proven effective" programs; none of the 29 new programs were recommended for funding.

Though federal and state supplementary funds are designed to break the poverty-failure cycle (and about

$680 million of Title I funds have been poured into New York City since the inception of ESEA), it is widely felt in the nation, the City, and at the local board level that the effort is ineffective. Despite isolated program successes, over-all reading and math scores continue to decline.

Last December, the Rand Corporation examined the studies made on compensatory education for the President's Commission on School Finance and concluded:

> Virtually without exception, all of the large surveys of the large national compensatory education programs have shown no beneficial results on the average. However, evaluation reports on which the surveys are based are often poor and research designs suspect. Two or three smaller surveys tend to show modest and positive effects on compensatory programs in the short run.[39]

This conclusion was supported by Mr. Nixon, who as early as 1970 said, "The best available evidence indicates that most of the compensatory education programs have not measurably helped poor children catch up."[40]

However on April 22, 1972, HEW published a 207-page document that argues for additional funds to raise the level of learning in segregated, low-income schools. "The Effectiveness of Compensatory Education" reports:

> The evidence indicating that compensatory education has not worked is, we judge, sobering but not overwhelming, a counsel of caution but not of despair.[41]

Compensatory education is expected to continue, at least as a way of "strengthening" minority schools and by-passing the busing controversy. The poverty areas are glad to have the money because it means some jobs for school "paraprofessionals" and other non-professionals in job-scarce areas. But most concerned parents see compensatory education as a mere band aid for a sick educational system that needs a thorough diagnosis and a prescription for overall recovery.

6. Special Education

For the physically handicapped, emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, and other handicapped children who are unable to participate in regular public school classes, the Board of Education provides an extensive program of special education. The special education programs have not been decentralized and remain under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor and the Central Board.

All handicapped children, whether referred by their parents, teacher, or physicians, must be tested and evaluated by the Bureau of Child Guidance before they can be enrolled in special public education classes. Test results and recommendations are then sent to the borough supervisor at the appropriate Board of Education Bureau, depending upon the nature of the handicap.

A. Bureau for the Education of the Physically Handicapped

The borough supervisor reviews the recommendations of the Bureau of Child Guidance and is responsible for placing the child in a special class near his home. If necessary, bus transportation is provided.

Special classes are offered on all school levels. Because the Bureau handles only physically handicapped children with normal mental development, the curriculum is similar to the curriculum in regular public school classes.

The child can be placed in one of several types of classes. Health Conservation Orthopedic Units are for the severely handicapped, including cerebral palsy and muscular dystrophy. These classes are offered from first through twelfth grades. Classroom materials and equipment are adopted to meet the students' physical limitations. Special therapists conduct sessions on a regular basis.

Health Conservation lower vitality classes are designed for mildly handicapped, e.g., children grade 1 through 6 with diabetes, heart conditions, malnutrition, and asthma who require frequent rest periods. A special recreation program is incorporated into the curriculum, and special equipment and food are provided. Children who attend these classes must be ambulatory, as no transportation is provided.

There are also special classes for brain-injured children who are not retarded, not severely emotionally disturbed, and not seriously motor-handicapped. The curriculum is adopted to meet the problems resulting from abnormal kinetic patterns, perseveration, distractibility, and retention of primitive motor patterns.

If it is felt that a brain-injured child can function in a normal classroom setting, itinerant teachers are provided.

During the past school year, 102 Bedford-Stuyvesant elementary school students were enrolled in special classes for the handicapped. Canarsie, Erasmus Hall, South Shore, and Sheepsherd Bay High Schools offered special education classes.[42]

Home instruction is provided for the physically handicapped child who cannot be accommodated in a school facility. Instruction is provided from first through twelfth grades, for both short and long term pupils. To be eligible, a child must have a non-communicable disease, the disability must be severe enough to warrant the child remaining at home for a minimum of one month, a responsible adult chaperone must be present, and the child's I.Q. must be at least within the educable retarded range. For high school students, broadcasts of "The High School of the Air" supplements home instruction.

B. 400 Schools

Physically ill children confined to hospitals and convalescent homes and children residing in shelters are provided with instruction through the "400" schools. The primary function of these schools is to maintain continuity of education so that the youngsters eventually may return to a normal school setting with little or no loss of education. A guidance counselor works with the teachers and medical staff. The curriculum follows the general educational objections, although modifications must be made due to environmental and physical limitations. This past year, there were 18 classes organized in various Brooklyn institutions, serving a total of 187 students.[43]

C. Services for the Deaf

Pupils with hearing problems attend regular school programs, but are assisted regularly by an itinerant teacher. Weekly instruction is offered in lipreading and auditory training at several centers in Brooklyn. Pupils with severe auditory problems may be placed in one of the few schools with a resource room, where they attend daily sessions with a teacher of the deaf. There are two elementary schools in Manhattan that accept deaf children from all five boroughs. In addition, the School for the Deaf at J.H.S. 47 in Manhattan offers education from pre-school through junior high school for deaf pupils with other handicaps. Two elementary schools in Brooklyn offer classes for language and hearing impaired (aphasic) children.

Once a deaf student reaches high school age, he is assigned to a regular high school. If necessary, he may attend a high school that offers special sessions (not special classes) for the deaf.

D. Bureau for the Visually Handicapped

Visually limited children attend regular classes in schools with a resource room, or are assisted by an intinerant teacher. Braille instruction is offered for blind students. A few schools offer special classes for visually limited or blind students with other handicaps. The Board of Education also maintains a pre-vocational skills program in Brooklyn's Industrial Home for the Blind.

E. Bureau for Children with Retarded Mental Development (CRMD)

The Board of Education is mandated to provide programs for retarded children between the ages of 5 and 21.

To be eligible for admission, a child must be ambulatory and toilet trained. A few classes are now accepting children who do not have full bladder control; however, if the child does not show substantial progress in his toilet training after a few months, he is dropped from the program and not readmitted until progress is achieved.

A retarded child is placed in a school, based on his I.Q. and the availability of classes near his home. If necessary, bus transportation is provided.

Although the law requires the Bureau of Child Guidance to re-evaluate each child every three years, the Bureau is under-staffed, and most children are re-evaluated only when a request is submitted. This results in small numbers of children being re-tested annually; some are never re-tested. Enough children have been permanently "tracked" into CRMD classes to give these classes and the Bureau of Child Guidance a tarnished reputation in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Parents are reluctant to avail themselves of the Bureau's services and this is one reason for declining enrollments in CRMD classes.

In cases where a child's I.Q. is borderline or just below 75, a diagnosis may be difficult. Unless a child is diagnosed as retarded (I.Q. below 75), the Bureau cannot place him.

If a child placed in a special class seems to be progressing at a brisk pace, his teacher may request a re-evaluation, particularly if the retardation was due to environmental or emotional reasons. If recommended, the pupil may then be placed in a regular classroom setting.

Educable mentally retarded children (I.Q. 50-75) are either placed in a Track I or a Track II program. Track I is designed for pupils with a potential for independence and competitive employment. Tract II pupils are those who need additional guidance.

When a student in Track I reaches high school age, he attends special classes in a regular high school, if he can read and do math at least on a third grade level and is considered socially and emotionally mature. When a student in Track II reaches 17 years of age, he attends an Occupational Training Center. There is one OTC in each borough; however, a student may elect to attend an OTC in a borough other than his own. For example, the Brooklyn OTC is at 83rd Street and 21st Avenue in Bensonhurst, and many Bedford-Stuyvesant students find it easier to travel to the center in Manhattan.

Usually around age 18 or 19, an OTC student is placed in a job or a sheltered workshop. However, some students who are less "successful" may continue at the OTC until age 21, when they graduate. Efforts are made to place all students in a job, but the success of this aspect of the program is dependent upon the job market.

Trainable mentally retarded children (I.Q. below 50) are placed in Track III. Emphasis is on self-help and social skills to prepare the student for self-sufficiency in the home or in sheltered employment. Students may attend the Occupational Training Center.

The curriculum is geared toward occupational training on virtually all levels in all three tracks. In the elementary grades, the core curriculum is concerned with the child's expanding environment, including: home, neighborhood, borough, and city. Developmental reading in introduced in the pre-primary classes (ages 6 - 10).

Parent workshops are held by the Bureau of CRMD supervisors in each district. Discussions center around parents' questions concerning the types of services available and their children's needs.

One serious drawback in programs for the retarded is the lack of adequately trained teachers. It has been estimated that 50 to 60% of the teachers used in classes for the retarded are either inadequately trained or are in the process of acquiring their degrees.

This fall, the Bureau of CRMD expects to implement a Retrieval and Reduction Program for drop-outs and potential drop-outs. Attrition is as great a problem in special education classes as it is in the City's high schools.

There are some classes for the doubly handicapped (i.e., retarded children with a physical handicap) in a few schools throughout the City. However, when students reach junior high school age, door-to-door bus transportation is no longer provided. Instead, free passes for public transportation are issued, in order to prepare the pupils for real world activities. Some of doubly-handicapped students are not ready for this experience, and problems can arise.

During the past two years or so, enrollment in Bedford-Stuyvesant's CRMD classes has declined, particularly in the early childhood classes (ages 5 - 7). This is primarily due to the fact that retarded children are not being identified, partly due to parental reluctance to have them identified.

There were 565 retarded students in Bedford-Stuyvesant's elementary schools this past year; 185 pupils were enrolled in junior and intermediate schools in districts 13 and 16, while 289 retarded pupils attended special classes in Brooklyn's academic high schools.[44]

F. Emotionally Disturbed

A Special Schools Program has been designed for emotionally disturbed and socially maladjusted children requiring special educational services and classes. The teaching staff is assisted by counselors and psychological and medical terms. Students range in age from 6 to 21. The program setting may be in a special day school, a psychiatric hospital, a treatment center, or an institution.

For example, children between the ages of 10 and 14 years returning to Brooklyn from a state mental hospital are provided with short-term reorientation through placement in a special resource center. The center is staffed by special education teachers, educational assistants and a guidance counselor. Up to thirty children are enrolled at any given time.

There are some 40 schools for the emotionally disturbed in New York City; 20 are located in Manhattan and 6 in Brooklyn. No Brooklyn schools are within the Bedford-Stuyvesant boundaries.

A project to bolster instruction and services in schools for the socially maladjusted and emotionally disturbed is planned for the 1972-73 school year. The program will seek to improve reading abilities, train teachers and paraprofessionals, establish reading laboratory-resource centers to develop techniques and materials effective with children with severe learning disabilities, improve attitude toward learning and increase student attendance.

In a recent City-wide program of testing of former junior guidance pupils (students who present special discipline problems), more than 800 emotionally disturbed students were identified. Classes for these children are being established throughout the City in cooperation with Community School Districts. These special classes will have a teacher pupil ratio of 1:12, with additional supportive guidance personnel.

G. Conclusion

Within Bedford-Stuyvesant there is an abundance of the social problem conditions that lead to intense psycho-social distress and a higher than usual index of mental and emotional illness. Despite the special education programs described in this section, Bedford-Stuyvesant is woefully weak in providing facilities and services for the mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed child. Apart from the special public school classes, there are only three small mental health clinics within our boundaries. Bedford-Stuyvesant has been designated by the New York City Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation Services as an area of highest priority for the establishment of mental health services. Two of the greatest service gaps at present are pre-school and post-school programs for the mentally ill and retarded and emotionally disturbed.

The Fleischmann Commission concluded that the New York City school system "does a better job than most in serving handicapped children," but also estimated there were at least 20,000 handicapped children in the City who had not been identified and were not being helped.[45] Obviously, Bedford-Stuyvesant has thousands of these hidden cases.

Our own experience with existing Special Education Programs indicates problems in the following areas (1) identification processes, (2) selection and training of staff, and (3) basic approaches to teaching the handicapped. Actually, the problems are basically the same as those which afflict the system generally.

Many poor children test as mentally retarded simply because they have not been taught in school and their environments have offered little in the way of stimulation and motivation. For example, we were informed that an entering student at I.S. 55 who was psychologically tested would not be able to handle anything other than very concrete materials with any degree of success. However, this student is now in the special reading program at I.S. 55 and is applying himself diligently and making excellent progress. He does continue to have some problems with "reversals" in the "Words in Color" program, but shows great improvement even in this area. This students' learning problem has been centered around late development of his eye movements.

We can document scores of cases where students have been marked as CRMD by teachers in elementary school and never actually tested, but treated in school as if they were CRMD.

Assuming that a child is CRMD, the need for competent teachers and healthy learning environments is of great importance. However, the same limited selection procedures are used and the same restrictions are placed upon the hiring of special education teachers as we note in Chapter IV on Administrative Problems.

Great emphasis should be placed on the psychological makeup and commitment to children of such teachers. This cannot be done under the present restrictions placed by the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers.

The training of teachers by teacher training institutions for special education are as inadequate as those of teacher training institutions in general, as noted in Chapter III. One of the authors completed all of the Board of Education requirements for CRMD teaching and can say with authority that the approaches to the basic subject areas of reading and math are lacking in creativity. The emphasis is on the teacher teaching as opposed to children learning.

The Fleischmann Commission's recommendations for children with special needs include:

> Administer four test annually to help identify the many handicapped children who are not now adequately served by our educational system.
>
> Refer children failing to pass the above tests to teams composed of a pediatrician, a psychologist, a social worker, a teacher, and a paraprofessional tester for a thorough diagnosis.
>
> Give parents of handicapped or allegedly handicapped children the right to appeal from decisions of educational authorities that affect their children.
>
> Prepare prospective classroom teachers in elementary diagnosis of mildly handicapped children and in ways to assist them.
>
> Undertake a special program to reeducate practicing teachers as special teachers for the increased numbers of handicapped children who need special services.[46]

7. Private Education

A. Catholic Schools

New York City's Catholic schools are the fourth largest school system in the country. Approximately 22% of the City's total school population (309,784 for 1971-72) is enrolled in Catholic schools. Catholic students represent three-fourths of the City's non-public school population. Minority enrollment in Catholic schools is 23% in elementary schools and 10% in high schools, as compared with 60% minority enrollment in the City's public schools.

Table X indicates 17 Catholic elementary schools serving Bedford-Stuyvesant children. Catholic schools have one-seventh of the elementary school population of central Brooklyn. Total 1971-72 enrollment was 8,276; 7,396 or 89.2% were Catholic, 2,752 or 33.2% were Spanish speaking; 4,145 or 50% were black. Table X also shows the two diocesan high schools serving Bedford-Stuyvesant youth. Total enrollment is 1,243; 1,194 are Catholic, 196 are Spanish speaking, and 373 are black.

Catholic elementary school enrollment reached its peak in 1964.[47] Since that year, enrollment has declined by 11%, with Bedford-Stuyvesant's parochial schools experiencing a 29.5% decline. Because of the fewer number of Catholic secondary schools, and the competition among elementary school students for admission, Catholic high schools have generally not felt this trend. Citywide, the high schools show a 12% increase in enrollment, although enrollment in Brooklyn and Manhattan high schools has declined somewhat.

One reason given for the lower enrollments is the decline in the Catholic birth rate. Another, and perhaps more significant factor, seems to be the change in Catholic attitudes toward parochial education. Where once parents felt it was their moral obligation to send their children to Catholic schools, an increasing number of parents are not as strongly committed to parochial education.

A third factor is the rise in tuitions. At a time when many inner-city families are turning towards parochial schools, the schools are being forced to up tuitions beyond the financial reach of many families. In 1969, the median tuition for elementary parochial schools was $105.00, and for secondary schools, $600.00.

While religion is becoming a less important factor for parents' choosing Catholic schools, safety is becoming more important. Although disturbances have occurred in parochial schools, they have not reached the proportions of the city's public schools, and parochial administrators of the smaller Catholic schools have been better able to cope with the problems that arise.

There are no comprehensive studies comparing the quality of education in the city's Catholic and public schools. It is safe to say that there are good and bad schools in both systems, and parents can best determine which school their child should attend by looking at the individual schools in question. The

City Planning Commission study of parochial education[48] tentatively concluded that in the ghetto areas of the City, parochial schools out performed the public schools.

Although most people associate Catholic schools with nuns or brothers as teachers, lay teachers account for approximately 50% of Brooklyn's parochial school teachers. A large number of both lay and religious teachers are without Bachelor's degrees and/or state certification. In Brooklyn's elementary schools, 38.9% religious teachers and 46.7% lay teachers lack B.A. degrees, while 57.5% and 68.2%, respectively, are not state-certified. On the secondary level, however, only 3% religious and 1.6% lay teachers do not have B.A.s, although 44.2% and 52.1%, respectively, are not state-certified.

Increased tuition is not sufficient to cover the rapidly increasing costs of parochial education. The controversy over state aid will not be resolved for some time. Massive public aid for New York Catholic schools is just a hope. Two recent court decisions declared unconstitutional $4 million in building maintenance aid and direct tuition grants to low-income parents. The majority of the Fleischmann Commission was against aid to non public schools. There is still hope for tax credit relief at the state and federal level.[49] Meanwhile, there is a growing unionization of parochial teachers who demand increased salaries and benefits.

Due in part to financial problems, but primarily to declining enrollment, Catholic schools throughout the City are being closed down. No schools closed in Brooklyn this past year, but the Diocese has halted construction of new school buildings. A spec[illegible] task force appointed to study the Catholic high school system in Brooklyn has called for the closing of four diocesan high schools, including Bishop McDonnell and the New High School, the only diocesan high schools in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

It had been feared that the city's Catholic schools would all suddenly close, presenting enormous problems to the public schools. In its recent study, the City Planning Commission estimated that, based on present-day trends, the cost of this burden could reach as high as $146 million.[50] The chart below compares 1970 Catholic school enrollment with public school utilization for central Brooklyn's public school districts:

District	Overload (+) Underload (-) In Public Schools Elementary	Intermediate	Catholic Pre-K - 8 Enrollment
13	+ 107	+ 529	4,331
14	- 1,351	- 857	9,860
16	+ 4,229	+ 1,881	5,384
17	+ 3,128	+ 1,040	3,561
23	- 1,885	+ 861	717

District 16 would be among those hardest hit should all parochial schools be suddenly forced to close. However, indications are that the parochial schools will close at a moderate pace with many of the schools consolidating. Should this be the case, public school officials feel they can handle the resulting increase in public school enrollment without too much difficulty.

Catholic schools are helping some 9,000 Bedford-Stuyvesant children to get the education they need. The Brooklyn Diocese has been a pioneer in instituting educational TV; every parochial classroom in Brooklyn has the capability of viewing four TV channels simultaneously. The Diocese produces 50% of its own programs and has been broadcasting since April of 1966. The Westinghouse Plan, a computer-serviced innovative way of getting at the individual needs of children is in operation at two diocesan elementary schools. The New High School, formerly St. John's Prep, located in Northeastern Bedford-Stuyvesant, has opened its classes to all qualified students within a one-and-one half mile radius of its doors, regardless of religion; the innovative Trump Plan for individualized instruction has been adopted.

In some ways, parochial schools are ahead of the public system. At the same time Catholic education is going through its greatest crisis; for this is a time of changing religious ideas, decline in religious teacher vocations, inflation and rising costs, labor problems, declining enrollments and low morale.

B. Other Private Schools

There are at least seven other non-public schools serving an estimated 2,000 Bedford-Stuyvesant children.

Bethel Elementary School - grades 1 - 8
457 Grand Avenue

Concord Elementary School - grades 1 - 6
833 Marcy Avenue

Epiphany Lutheran School - grades K-8
721 Lincoln Place

Junior Academy - nursery through 8th grade
856 Quincy Street

Rugby School (mentally handicapped children ages 6 - 17)
196 New York Avenue

St. Augustines Preparatory School (nursery through 9th grade)
205 A Montgomery Street

Uhuru Sasa Shule - ages 3 - 18
10 Claver Place

II. How the Public School System Operates Under Decentralization

On July 1, 1970, 279 elected school board members assumed office on 31 local school boards in New York City. These 9-member boards had the job of interpreting and implementing an ambiguous decentralization law, using instructions from an interim central board that were often late, conflicting and confusing. Generally, the local boards lacked expertise in interpreting their rights, duties, and the scope of their authority, and in the two-year period that has elapsed their records are spotty.

Originally, decentralization was considered a means by which to stop the steady deterioration of education in the city's public schools, which many thought was partly caused by a rigid and entrenched educational bureaucracy. Parents and others concerned about the children's failure to learn believed that, with community control, teachers and supervisors would somehow be able to reverse this trend.

How were the local boards formed? How much control did they gain - over personnel policy, budgets, and educational programs? How did they use it? Has education of children improved?

A. The Local Boards

Through election to a local school board, a parent could presumably influence school policy. In 1969, however, some of the circumstances which prevented many boards from becoming truly representative were:

- arbitrary districting by the Board of Education which diluted minority voting strength;
- too much red tape in the nomination procedure;
- lack of Spanish-speaking personnel during voting registration;
- age and residency restrictions for voting eligibility which disenfranchised many ghetto residents;
- lack of information in the districts generally;
- an inexperienced and unorganized population, which led to the capture of several boards by political and/or partisan groups;
- lack of voter participation since only 10-11% of those eligible city-wide voted.[51]

Therefore, as a result of the first election, "of the 279 members elected throughout the city 16.8% (47) were Black; 10.8% (30) were Puerto Rican; 72% (201) were White and .4% (1) was of Chinese stock."[52] Thus, "the typical community school board member was a White male of the Jewish or Catholic faith, a middle class professional, with at least two children attending a non-public school and living in his district for approximately nine years."[53] In 1969 the public school population was about 55% black and Puerto Rican.

The decentralization law required that the new boards draw up by-laws, set public meeting times, establish voting procedures, and organize themselves according to a basic plan.

After one year, the Institute for Community Studies of Queens College analyzed all the boards' activities. The issues discussed fell under four general headings; personnel, curriculum, budget, and rezoning. At all community school board meetings the most discussed issue was "appointment and placement of principals and assistant principals."[54] The second was use of Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title I funds. The subjects of rezoning, busing, school utilization, drug abuse and new programs were discussed more often in white districts; evaluation of Title I programs more often in black and Puerto Rican communities. Plant facilities, repair, maintenance and construction were discussed almost equally.

Interestingly, student discipline, a major concern of school personnel, was discussed minimally by local boards.

In their first year, most community school boards did not discuss, in any meaningful way, basic education policy, curriculum or goals. One could conclude that the first year was an organizational and shakedown period. It is difficult to determine how much the boards have emerged from this initial phase.

B. Community Participation

Although all boards established committees to reach out into the community and mandated the creation of Parent Associations and PTA's in schools where none existed, their degree of consistent contact with the communities varied. In some districts the monthly public meetings were well publicized and held in accessible locations. In others, the opposite was true and may have been due to the inefficiency of the boards' staffs, although there were charges that meetings in some districts were poorly publicized in order to discourage community participation. In Brooklyn's District #13, meetings were held in a different community school each month.

In a few areas, relations with the superintendent reached confrontation, and in others the boards and the communities disregarded each other's views. In Manhattan's District #6, reportedly, there was the type of cooperation envisioned by the advocates of decentralization. Here parental advisory committees assisted in planning curriculum, and parents associations in each school interviewed the candidates for principalships. The local board then followed through by appointing one of the top three selected by the parents' association.

The By-laws of Community School Board #13 in Brooklyn provide:

> "Prior to the selection, appointment and assignment of principals, the Community Board shall consult with the parent association or parent-teacher association of the school involved." (Article III)

A school board member stated in a public meeting that,

> ".. it is the policy of the District that personnel appointments are done in the following manner: For appointment of a principal or an assistant principal, the parents of the school of which a majority must be parents and members of the PA, screens the candidates. They may also advertise for candidates. They do all the interviewing for the candidates. Since this Board has been instituted, in every single instance, every single school, every appointment, the principal or assistant principal has been appointed only on the recommendation of the parents and has been accepted by the Superintendent and the CSB."[55]

This policy has since been extended to all school personnel.

District #13 also has community board committees devoted to curriculum, business/plant, personnel, school lunch and community relations.

C. Jurisdiction

The decentralization law provided that each community school board would have jurisdiction over public schools and programs in its district from pre-kindergarten through junior high school, except for high schools, special education services, and certain programs which overlap district lines. Responsibility for the latter remain with the Chancellor. However, because of the complexity of the law, what constituted local boards' "jurisdiction" was often disputed.

D. Personnel

One factor which many parents wanted to change, hopefully through decentralization, was the racial and ethnic composition of the schools' staffs. The number of black and Spanish-speaking principals, teachers and administrators was negligible when compared with the school population. For example, only 1.4% of the principals and 7.2% of the assistant principals in the New York City schools were black or Puerto Rican.

Despite the change to decentralization, Board of Education policies continued to restrict the hiring of minority supervisory personnel. Then, on September 20, 1971, Judge Walter R. Mansfield enjoined the Board of Examiners and the Board of Education from conducting further supervisory examinations, promulgating Board lists of eligible supervisory candidates, and making or allowing permanent supervisory appointments on the basis of previous examination lists until a full trial of the issues could be had. Since the Mansfield decision, community boards have had the opportunity to hire superintendents and principals (who meet minimum state certification standards and Board of Education guidelines) on the basis of merit and fitness. By the end of the 1971-72 school year, 18 of the 31 district superintendents had left the system; the turnover of principals was comparable, and about half were from minority groups. More than 35% of the supervisory personnel in District #13 are from minority groups.

The hiring and control of teachers and other supervisory personnel below the rank of principal is still limited by: first, the Board of Examiners' certification procedure; and second, contracts negotiated by the central board with the UFT and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators. An exception was made to permit local boards to hire teachers "in districts where schools scored in the lowest 45% of reading achievement,"[56] and where no names appeared on an appropriate eligible list for an existing teaching vacancy. Efforts by community boards to do away with seniority as the sole criteria for retaining teachers was rejected by the courts.

Perhaps the most noticeable influx of minority groups into the system has been in the employment, by the community boards, of thousands of mothers as teacher aides and paraprofessionals in the classrooms. Of 15,000 paraprofessionals employed by the city in 1971, most of them as educational assistants, about 48% were black and 16% were Puerto Rican.[57]

E. Budget

The New York City education budget is divided into two categories: expense, which covers personal services, largely salaries; and capital, which covers school construction and modifications, equipment, library books, textbooks.

With respect to the expense budget, the community school boards must hold public hearings and submit budget estimates to the Chancellor. These may be modified by the Chancellor after consultation with the community superintendent; and then incorporated, with an estimate for city board activities, in a consolidated budget for the entire city system. After the budget has been reviewed and approved by the requisite city agencies, and when the funds are available, the Chancellor allocates them among the districts. The allocation formula is established annually by the city board in consultation with the Chancellor, the community school boards, and the mayor, and should reflect "the relative educational needs of the community districts to the maximum extent feasible.'[58] However, the amount of allocated money the districts actually control is limited because 60% of the funds cover centrally-mandated expenses, and use of some of the remainder is limited by other legal restraints and requirements.

The capital budget is prepared by the city board for submission to the City Planning Commission. The local boards' participation in the preparation is limited to proposing sites for new schools, recommending modifications, choosing "qualified" architects from a pre-selected panel, and being consulted at various stages by the city board and the Chancellor.

A third budget area consists of additional funds provided by various public and private funding agencies which can be used for special programs, i.e., those which supplement the basic curriculum but do not supplant it. Perhaps the most important of these is Title I. Up to the time the decentralization law was passed, Title I funded centrally-contracted, union-approved programs such as More Effective Schools. The law, however, gave new responsibilities to the community school boards, and the conflict between the union and central board on the one hand, and the local districts on the other, was taken into court by District #3. In June of 1971, "the State Supreme Court held that the central board must turn over control of Title I programs to local school boards;..."[59] Thus, the community boards can now apply directly to federal and state agencies for special funds, their applications reviewed by the Chancellor "for form only."

On balance, though, budgeting, a potentially forceful way of changing policies and practices, remains primarily with the central board. Livingston Street budgeting has been scored by local boards because they do not participate meaningfully in the budget formulation, and by outside observers because there is no independent review of monies spent.[60] It is the view of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Public Education Association that "... for the third year in a row after we supposedly shifted to a system of decentralization, we still have a centralization budget - one that violates the spirit and in some cases even the letter of the decentralization law."[61] Some school boards have challenged the central board's budgeting procedures, but most have not. The education and city budget processes are complicated and time-consuming, and one suspects the number of school board members willing and able to tackle the subject has been limited.

F. School Construction

Before the decentralization law was passed, school site selection and construction were politicized and uneven. Communities in general did not participate in any phase of plant location and planning. Although the law states that the community school boards have the power to recommend sites to the city site selection board, to select "qualified" architects from a pre-set panel, to review and make recommendations on preliminary architectural plans, the final approval remains with the central board. "The attempt to participate equally and fully in every stage of the school process - site selection, choosing architects, reviewing designs, looking on the qualifications of bidders and expediting the completion of projects -- has had minimal success in the districts."[62]

An exception occurred when Community School Board #8 obtained a show-cause order against the City Planning Commission for failure to consult with the local board on site selection for a new school. The community brought sufficient pressure on the CPC that it reversed itself and agreed to consult, before the decision came from the Court.

G. Curriculum

In the area of curriculum, the boards can select textbooks and other instructional materials, subject to the prior approval of the Chancellor, and meeting standards set by him. Innovation has been spotty, with some schools attempting new programs, although the multiplier effect has been minimal. The community school board in District #6 initiated orientation for new arrivals in the school, and added a bio-medical careers program for teens and sub-teens. In District #5 a multi-media program was considered successful. A few schools in several districts, including District #13, have experimented with variations of the open corridor concept.

These additional programs do not go to the heart of the curriculum. The boards were reluctant to get into "basic" curriculum, not only because of lack of expertise, lack of thought-out educational goals, and teacher resistance, but because they spent so much time organizing themselves.

H. Student Rights

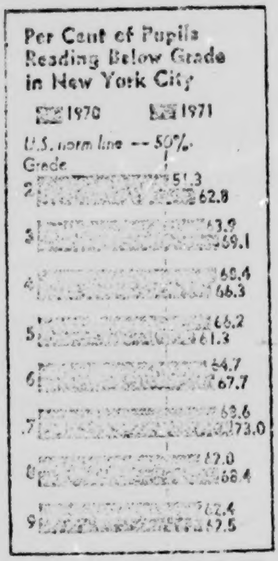
The local boards do not have the power to make policy in the areas of student and parent rights. Thus, most New York City schools "track" pupils, although this has been condemned educationally and attacked legally.[63] Also, in spite of numerous directives and pressure from outside organizations, principals, backed by the educational bureaucracy, still rely on suspension for controlling students. Aside from the fact that this practice puts onto the streets those most in need of an education, it compounds fiscal problems in ghetto schools because state funds are allocated according to average daily attendance rather than enrollment.

One encouraging sign was the adoption, in April, 1971, by District #3 of an "open records" policy. This permits a parent, or someone in parental relation to a child, to have access to that child's complete school file and to have various documents explained to him. It also requires that, before any outside agency or person can examine the file, the parent's written permission must be obtained.[64]

I. The Education of Children

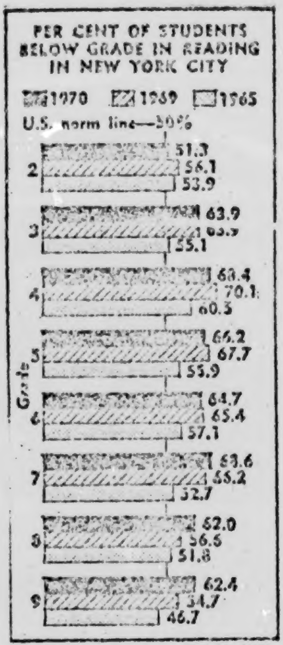
Has the education of children improved as a result of decentralization? There is no simple way to measure improvement. By all external signs, the schools continue to decline:

- the continuing drop in reading scores;



The New York Times/Feb. 20, 1972

581,590
2-9th grade pupils



Dec. 20, 1970
The New York Times

565,205
2-9th grade
pupils

- the persistently high drop-out rates;

- the continuing high absentee rate among students who do attend school;

- the narcotic epidemic among school-age youth;

- the widespread, continued dissatisfaction of parents, teachers, school administrators, students, and critics both official and self-appointed, that appears regularly in the press.

The only way to measure improvement is to take each child individually and evaluate his day to day growth and mastery of skills in terms of his own potential. This growth and mastery are not reflected by a test that compares the child with a national norm. The consensus is, and our experience tells us, that the education of children has not improved with decentralization.

J. Conclusion

Decentralization has yet to prove itself as an effective process for producing change. There are a number of reasons for this conclusion. First, "decentralization" as presently structured is a misnomer. The community school boards have limited powers and the powers they do posses have not been fully exercised. The Community School System Project of the New York Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law believes, "The advent of their second year ... finds most of the boards far from having assumed the full range of their rights and responsibilities ...".[65] There have been several reasons for this: the law does not spell out clearly the rights of community boards; new boards tended to trust the fairness of the decisions of the central board and not to assert their rights, some harassed local board members did not have the stamina or experience to take on the central board or the UFT.

Second, because it took local boards varying lengths of time to get organized and acquire some experience, most are just beginning to formulate educational goals, to move from "housekeeping" to "education." The boards tended to deal with concrete matters like teacher lateness, building needs, pupil zoning, budget cuts, salary modifications, than the more elusive subject of educational goals. Compounding this was a high turnover rate of board members in some districts. District #13, for example, has lost four of its original members.

Third, the Board of Education bureaucracy and the unions have consistently fought community control. However, the representatives from local boards who participated in the fall 1972 UFT contract negotiations were praised by the union's President, who stated: "The fear we had that decentralization might make negotiations impossible did not come true. These negotiations proved that decentralization and collective bargaining are compatible."[66]

Finally, many parents and parent groups do not adequately understand the criteria for judging effective educational methods and the opportunities that decentralization offers for achieving quality education in their schools. Further, for decentralization and quality education to succeed, parent involvement is essential. The Institute for Community Studies believes "There does seem to be a correlation between the more innovative districts in terms of curriculum programs and the districts which permit the parents to participate most in determining them."[67] The Fleischmann Commission stated it more firmly, "There is evidence that measured student achievement is higher where parent participation in school affairs is greater."[68]

The Fleischmann Commission recommends increased local control of education generally, and a strengthening of New York City's decentralization in particular, giving local school boards greater control over personnel policy, budgets and educational programs. If the recommendations of the Commission are adopted by the Governor and the legislature, the City's central board fiscal control over community districts would end. Under the full takeover by the State of the financing of schools (in order to make more equitable public education expenditures throughout the State) budget allocations and modification procedures would be determined at the State level and monies would be distributed by the State directly to the individual districts.

In addition, community boards would have ultimate responsibility for appointment and assignment of all personnel working in buildings or programs under their jurisdiction. Parent advisory councils in each school would have the power of final selection of principals, and the principals in turn would have the major voice in the selection of teachers and setting the educational tone of the school.

II. New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Finance of Elementary and Secondary Education

The Report of the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education (the Fleischmann Commission Report) is probably the most ambitious educational study ever undertaken by any State. It cost $1.5-million and took three years to produce; its three volumes of text and tables cover the following subject areas:

Chapter 1:	The State of Education in New York
Chapter 2 & 3:	Financing and Federal Aid
Chapter 4:	Racial and Ethnic Integration
Chapter 5:	Aid to Nonpublic Schools
Chapter 6:	Curriculum
Chapter 7:	Secondary Education
Chapter 8:	Noninstructional Needs
Chapter 9:	Children with Special Needs
Chapter 10:	Societal Problems in the Schools
Chapter 11:	Governance
Chapter 12:	New York City - A Special Case
Chapter 13:	Educators and Educational Policy
Chapter 14:	Schools for Tomorrow: A Summing Up

The volumes themselves and pamphlet summaries of the Report (published by the State Education Department in Albany) are available, and no further summary need be made here. The Report is referred to throughout our entire study. In this section we will cite some of the recommendations of the Fleischmann Commission which need to be singled out for special attention.

1. The State of Education in New York

> The massive expansion of the public school system in New York State - almost doubling the student body since 1945 - is levelling off. Money that in the past has been used to build schools to take care of the rising numbers can in the next decade be used to improve the quality of education and to raise the level of pupil performance.[69]

> The Commission recommends that top priority attention be given removing inequities that are evident in the high correlation between poor performance and low socio-economic status. The Commission found that low achievement was not a function of racial or ethnic background, but rather of broken homes,

overcrowded housing and lack of education by the head of the household.[70] The close parallel between school success and the child's socio-economic background indicated to the Commission that something is wrong with the way the educational system operates:

> We found that the educational system is flawed by an uneven distribution of educational resources that operates to the disadvantage of those students who need the most help and that far too little attention is paid to distributing such resources in accordance with educational need. In sum, we have found that educational success, by any measure, correlates highly with socio-economic status, and in far too great a degree, so does the distribution of educational resources. If this report has a central thrust, it is directed at breaking these causal connections.[71]

Some of the ways these causal connections may be broken include the Commission's recommendations for the allocation of additional funds for special student needs, improved programs in reading and mathematics, and services of a special State Teacher Corps.

2. Financing

The Report contends that it is repugnant to the constitutional ideal of equal educational opportunity "that the quality of a child's education, insofar as that education is provided through public funds, is determined by accidents of birth, wealth, or geography; that a child who lives in a poor district is, by reason of that fact alone, entitled to lower public investment in his education than a child in a rich district. It is unconscionable that a poor man in a poor district must often pay local taxes at higher rates for the inferior education of his child than the man of means in a rich district pays for the superior education of his child. Yet, incredibly, that is the situation today in most of the 50 states, and that is the case in New York."[72]

Thus, in New York City, according to the 1970-71 Basic Fiscal Data published by the New York State Education Department Bureau of Finance Research, the assessed property valuation per pupil was $51,852 and the annual approved operating expenditure was

$1,259. Yet in Bronxville school district located in the adjoining county, the assessed property valuation per pupil was $77,363 and the annual approved operating expenditure per pupil was $1,976.

In order to correct an educational financing system which makes one's education a function of local property values, and to assure that each elementary and secondary education student is provided equal educational opportunity, the Commission recommended that the State Government abolish "basic inequality in educational revenue raising and expenditure" by assuming complete responsibility for funding the schools, partly by means of a uniform statewide property tax.

Under the proposed plan, New York City expected to experience a gradual increase in current tax rates in the first five years of the new plan as parity among school districts is reached in achieving the statewide rate. Some have criticized the proposed statewide rate of $2.04 per $100 of full property valuation as an unfair tax load on the cities.[73] (The New York City rate is presently $1.89). The ultimate effect of the fiscal reforms in New York City and Bedford-Stuyvesant cannot be fully predicted because the Commission did not release enough hard data on New York City. Despite Commission assurances that the City would have more money to spend per pupil than it now spends, higher charges against increased allocations are feared. However, the move to achieve equality of educational opportunity through revenue raising and expenditure reforms, far outweighs the objections and fears.

The proposed plan's change to per pupil enrollment as the basis for expenditure, rather than the existing criterion of average daily attendance, will greatly benefit the City and Bedford-Stuyvesant in particular, because truancy and dropout rates here far exceed the rest of the State's. Furthermore, it is anticipated that through the plan the City will be protected against an unlimited rise in property taxes and benefit from more uniform statewide property assessment procedures.

Bedford-Stuyvesant education will also benefit from two additional Fleischmann Commission recommendations: (1) more funds (50% over the base expenditure) to be spent for the education of each child who has learning problems; and (2) the concentration of this funding (70%) on elementary education to get the children off to a better start.

3. Federal Aid

If the educational needs of New York are to be met, the Federal Government must contribute far more to the financing of education. In New York at present, the Federal share is about 4%; the Commission recommends a 25 to 30% Federal share.

4. Racial and Ethnic Integration

Desegregation of New York City's public elementary and junior high schools is physically possible, according to Professor Dan W. Dodson of New York University, but the actualization of the Dodson Plan was not a recommendation of the Commission despite the Commission belief that "the attainment of equal educational opportunity is conditional upon racial and ethnic integration."[74]

Indeed, the Commission found that there is more racial separation in New York City's schools today than there was in 1954 at the time of the limited State Supreme Court's landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision. From 1954 to 1965 the number of black and Puerto Rican schools in New York City increased 290 per cent, from 52 in 1954 to 201 in 1965.[75]

Aware of the political danger in opposing negative popular attitudes, the Commission took the less direct approach to the goal of racial and ethnic integration. Fourteen of eighteen commissioners recommended that racial and ethnic integration be achieved by the Legislature taking a leadership role in establishing statutory obligations for local school districts to observe in their own locally-created plans. In the light of the present political climate and the continuing trends of residential segregation, it seems hardly possible that equal educational opportunity for each child in New York State will become a reality in this decade, despite the Commission's insistance.

Because of the political reality, we have proposed busing, not for integration but for the continuity of education (Chapter V) to counter the alarming pupil turnover rate. More and more black leaders believe that the black community should focus its energies on building up its own schools sociologically and psychologically and should not waste further effort in trying to solve the problem of public education for blacks through integration. This is not to suggest that barriers be built to integration, but to recognize that blacks' problems will have to be solved within the black community.

5. Bilingual Education

"In the decade between 1960 and 1970, the number of Puerto Rican immigrants to New York State... was close to one million. The number of Spanish-surname American students in New York City public schools alone now stands at 290,000, approximately 135,000 of whom are unable to speak English with sufficient fluency to benefit from regular classroom instruction. Another 18,000 students of Chinese, Italian, French /Haitian in Bedford-Stuyvesant/ and other backgrounds also cannot speak English. Despite this situation, bilingual education programs reach only 4,000 students in New York City. It is no wonder that Puerto Rican students are scoring poorly on standardized tests, dropping out of school at an extraordinary rate (52 per cent between 10th and 12th grades), failing to take advantage of post-secondary school opportunities, and finding it very difficult to compete in the job market."[76]

At least 25 per cent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant school population is Puerto-Rican or Spanish speaking. Some Bedford-Stuyvesant schools on the edge of Crown Heights have substantial percentages of Creole-speaking youngsters of Hatian descent who cannot understand what is happening in the classroom. Programs for the youngsters with a language barrier meet only a fraction of the real need. Child-centered teacher training and massive recruitment programs are especially needed in this neglected area.

Accepting the recommendation of a Citywide Advisory Committee on Belingual Education, Chancellor Scribner has recently established a new Office of Bilingual Education which is developing "a master plan for bilingual education in consultation with representatives of community school districts and bilingual communities." The Office will also "facilitate, coordinate, and seek funding for additional bilingual programs throughout the city."

A suit was brought in federal court on September 20, 1972 against the Board of Education and five community school boards (two of which, 14 and 16, touch Bedford-Stuyvesant) charging that 190,000 Spanish-speaking students were being denied equal educational opportunity by the city's school system and asking that bilingual courses and special programs be implemented to compensate for past failures and meet present needs.

The Fleischmann Commission calls for bilingual educational programs in all districts with 20 or more students of a common language background who are also limited in their ability to speak English. Estimating costs for recruitment and training of teachers, materials, and indirect costs, the Commission believes a five-year crash program would amount to $35.8 million.

6. Gifted Children

Through the lack of individualized approach to the student, the intellectual and artistic talents of thousands of New York's most gifted young people are irretrievably lost. This failure particularly affects "females and children from disadvantaged backgrounds and minority groups."

As a start toward remedying this situation, the Commission calls for the State to identify the 200 elementary schools with the greatest concentration of families eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. In each of these schools, there should then be an identification of the 5 per cent who are the gifted and talented students between the ages of 6 and 10. These students would be given special instruction within the school for periods of time not to exceed 10 per cent of the school year. Also, the State should "see to it that such children are provided special services outside the ...schools..." These would include providing them access to qualified adults such as scientists, artists, musicians, writers, and others, and exposure to museums, cultural centers, art galleries, and colleges.77

7. School Governance

A series of recommendations designed to increase local control of education, strengthening school decentralization, include:

> Selection of school principals by "parent advisory councils" from lists prepared by superintendents and school boards, with principals given responsibility for hiring and firing of teachers and other school personnel. (Board of Examiners abolished.)

Establishment of Parent Advisory Councils in each school, elected by parents of students enrolled in the school.

Institution of parental choice in choosing the school, teaching methods, courses and instructional styles. (A "family choice" system). Families could choose one of three or four schools grouped into clusters which would offer varying choices of curriculum and teaching styles geared to meet the desires of clients.

Requirement of reports on annual academic objectives and performance of each school, accompanied by financial audit, to be made available to communities to assist in parental choice and satisfy the requirement of school by school accountability. The abolition of the unimaginative Regents Examination is also recommended and in its place a statewide test is to be created which measures the growth in primary skills needed for continuous education throughout life - reading, English composition, and mathematical reasoning and computation.

Division of large school units into "mini-schools" or "schools-within-schools" (already in effect at I.S. 55).

Establishment of regional Boards of Cooperative Educational Services (New York City would be one such region) to have more extensive authority with respect to programs for the handicapped students, specialized activities in the field of vocational education, support services, and development of optional courses for high school students.

The Commission believes, in sum, that methods of governing the schools must adjust to changing circumstances. Full state funding, inadequate local school accountability, and the availability of a new data-processing technology have caused us to recommend a shift in responsibilities and financing to the state level; in management and public reporting to the local school level; and in the provision of special services to the regional level. We do not see the options in simple terms of more or less local control, but rather call for more of it in some aspects of education and less in others. We see the state as providing costly special programs and financial, regulatory, coordinating and monitoring services through decentralized offices. Finally, we expect that further changes will be needed in the decades ahead.[78]

8. Educators and Educational Policy

The Commission notes that in the coming decade, in addition to the leveling off of the student population, there will be:

- a greater insistence on the control of rising educational expenditures;
- a reduction in the percentage of new staff added annually, and an increase in the age, experience and salary of the teaching staff;
- a change from the "sellers" personnel market

of the past two decades to a "buyer's" market in the 1970's.

On the premise that dollars devoted to quality education cannot by themselves insure quality, but that dollars do buy the services of people and that the most significant contribution toward learning is made by teachers and other educational personnel, the Commission makes a series of recommendations that will lead to better performance in the schools at reduced cost. The major recommendations are:

1. The state should develop a licensing procedure and establish a salary structure through statewide negotiation that defines four categories of teachers: Intern Teacher, Classroom Teacher, Special Teacher and Master Teacher. Master Teacher should comprise approximately 10 per cent of the total teaching staff and be paid a salary comparable to that of a principal.
2. A State Teacher Corps should be established to

serve in low-income areas. Teachers working in situations of unusual difficulty should receive a financial bonus.

3. Two hundred fifty Lighthouse Schools throughout the state and ten Professional Teacher Schools (five in New York City and one each in the other large cities) should be established to provide practical experience for Intern or Apprentice Teachers, in-service education for Classroom Teachers and opportunities for applied research and experimentation.

4. A state-wide Board of Teacher Licensing should be established. After certification, the Commission contemplates that teachers would "be assessed periodically to insure that the needs of their students are being met."

5. Currently, teachers advance on the salary scale by submitting evidence of graduate course work completed while they are employed; the annual cost of these salary increases is $210 million. One half of this amount should be used by

local school districts to develop and administer in-service training programs or to take advantage of programs offered by the State Education Department or regional Boards of Cooperative Educational Services that train teachers in skills deemed particularly necessary by the district.

6. At least 90 per cent of current supervisory staff should assume classroom teaching responsibility amounting to one fifth of an average full-time teacher's work load.

7. The ratio of students to adult instructional personnel should be increased from 20 pupils per adult to 22. Paraprofessionals should play a larger role in the classroom.

8. The state should earmark funds to be used by individual schools to purchase materials and supplies. Also, the state should financially support the introduction of instructional television and other technological aids in local schools.

9. The State should move as rapidly as possible toward state-wide collective bargaining in education and adopt a set of regional salary scales for teachers. "If the state supplies all money for public schools," the report states, "then logically it should be the center of bargaining activities."

10. The state should establish a single statewide pension plan for all educators hired henceforth. This plan should provide retirement benefits similar to those offered by progressive firms in the private sector.[79]

Estimated costs for the items listed above would be $326,250,000. This would be offset by savings of $540 million due to changes in staff ratios and employment of all professional personnel, for an estimated net savings of $213,750,000.

9. In-service Teacher Training

In line with the major thrust of our Bedford-Stuyvesant educational proposals, in Chapters 6 and 13, the

Fleischmann Commission stresses the need for in-service teacher training.

The Commission notes that few teacher preparation programs in New York State are designed to prepare staff for the special problems encountered in poverty-area schools, or to equip them to lead much-needed bilingual education programs. A mandatory two-year internship for student teachers is recommended.

Once they get into the classroom, teachers must be involved in programs to further develop their own skills in order to effectively utilize their knowledge about the processes of education. Yet, the Commission observes, "practically no in-service, as distinct from pre-service, programs appear to focus attention on these problems."[80]

Currently, 668 teachers, chosen for their skill in teaching reading, are participating in a special one-year remedial reading program for 10,000 students funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary

Education Act (Project ALERT). During the school year of 1972-73, each of these 668 teachers will work with at least five other teachers in their local schools, hopefully raising the quality of teaching of over 3,000 teachers throughout the state. The Commission recommends that this program be carefully evaluated, and if successful that it be expanded and supported by state money specifically earmarked for in-service education. "We recommend an allocation of apprxoimately $5 million for 1973-75."[81]

The Commission recommends that reading be the top priority in school districts. To assist students with severe reading problems, certification standards for reading specialists--reading consultants and reading teachers--be developed by the State and that local districts make use of these professionals and give them well-defined assignments within the schools. Though the Commission declines to suggest a single type of reading method to be used throughout the State, the report cites the work of experts in point-ing out the "widespread recognition of the importants of phonics, or decoding, approach to reading"[82] (presently in use at I.S. 55). The Commission adds "It is difficult to imagine any modern reading program that would not in some way incorporate a phonics component."

Because reading (and mathematics) are of such fundamental importance during the elementary school years, and to correct the decline in these areas, the Commission believes that the State Education Department should develop well-defined competency-based certification requirements for elementary school teachers and to develop five-year crash programs for reading and mathematics instruction improvement.[83]

Our proposal for on-site teacher training in Chapter V of this study is in effect one way of implementing the above Fleischmann Commission recommendations. We would add or combine a parent education program to enable parents to develop criteria for judging good learning methods.

ENDNOTES

[1] The New York Times, April 10, 1972, p.1.

[2] Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas, Brooklyn Borough, New York City - Summary, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1972, p. 14.

[3] 1960 Census

[4] See Table VII.

[5] The 1970 Census Bedford-Stuyvesant total of 356,900 represents a decline of 11.4% from the 1960 Census results, which reported the area population as 402,721.

[6] According to the 1960 Census, there were 31,793 children (7.5% of the total population) in the 10-14 age category. In 1970, there were 39,230 (10.9% of the total Bedford-Stuyvesant population).

[7] Program Planning Data Book, 1972 - 1978, Brooklyn Neighborhood Studies, Prepared in the Programming Section, Board of Education, City of New York.

[8] "Report on Graduates, Academic High Schools," Board of Education, June 1971, p.1.

[9] The Failure of Academic High Schools in New York City, Brooklyn Education Task Force, Tables DG 1 - DG 5.

[10] The New York Times, May 13, 1972.

[11] The New York Times, July 19, 1971.

[12] The New York Times, August 2, 1971.

[13] See Toward the 21st Century, recommendations for the New York City High Schools, by the Task Force on High School Redesign of the Office of High Schools and the Chancellor's Center for Planning, Board of Education, City of New York 1971.

[14] Fleischmann Report, Vol. 2, p. 7.2

[15] Amsterdam News, June 3, 1972.

[16] City University of New York; reprinted in The New York Times, Spetember 14, 1970.

[17] "Enrollment Report - Fall, 1967," Coordinator of Institutional Research, the City University of New York.

[18] Ibid.

[19] "Open Admissions: American Dream or Disaster?" Time, September 19, 1970.

[20] "Undergraduate Ethnic Census." Report by the City University of New York, Table V, 1967.

[21] "Open Admissions: Is That You, Genius?" David Gelman, Newsday, October 4, 1971.

[22] "Who Killed the Elitism in Higher Education?" College and University Business, November, 1970.

[23] "College Education for All?" Belle Zeller, Today's Education; March 1972.

[24] Today's Education; March 1972.

[25] The New York Times, March 26, 1971.

[26] "Report Card on Open Admissions: Remedial Work Recommended," Solomon Resnik and Barbara Kaplan, The New York Times, Magazine Section, May 9, 1971.

[27] Medgar Evers College News, February 1972.

[28] "City University Is Adjusting to the Sharp Increase in Number of Freshmen," The New York Times, March 26, 1971.

[29] Op. cit., The New York Times, May 9, 1971.

[30] "Gambling on Admissions," Time, September 28, 1970.

[31] Letter to Robert Novak, printed in The Open Admissions Story, Office of University Relations, City University of New York, 1970.

[32] Medgar Evers College News, February 1972.

[33] "Introduction to the Colleges/1972," Office of Admission Services, City University of New York, August 1971.

[34] Federal Regulations forbid using Title I monies as a substitute for local resources. The funds are for compensatory educational services, over and above the normal school program.

[35] Title I guidelines do not address themselves to New York City decentralization. The guidelines assume a three-tiered system (federal, state and local), whereas New York City is a four-tiered system (federal, state, city and local or community). Thus at present the Central Board of Education is considered the local agency for receiving funds and the community boards are considered the local agency for determining the use of funds.

[36] These supplementary funds have been declining in recent years. For example, in 1971-72, the amount of Title I monies distributed to Bedford-Stuyvesant and districts was $25.4 million.

[37] State Urban Education monies in District 13 declined $400,000 from the 1971-72 allocation; this reflects an across-the-board decline in all funded districts.

[38] The method of distribution is also under attack because the Central Board allocates monies to itself "off the top" for its programs and administrative costs. To the extent that WADA (weighted average daily attendance) is used in computing the formula, the distribution of monies is open to the charge of discrimination, since low income urban neighborhoods have dis-proportionately lower attendance rates.

[39] The New York Times, April 23, 1972.

[40] Ibid.; see also The Wall Street Journal, April 24, 1972 where it is reported that HEW was also insisting there was insufficient evidence that compensatory education efforts were producing any results at all.

[41] The New York Times, April 23, 1972.

[42] "School Enrollment," October 30, 1971, Bureau of Research and Statistics, New York City Board of Education.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] The New York Times, October 13, 1972

[46] Fleischmann Commission Report, Vol, 2, p. 9.1 ff.

[47] "Can Catholic Schools Survive?" Sunday News, August 27, 1972.

[48] Three Out of Ten, The New York Department of City Planning, March 1972, pp. 81-85.

[49] The New York Times, October 3, 1972.

[50] Three Out of Ten, p. 103.

[51] Demonstration for Social Change, an Experiment in Local Control, Marilyn Gittell, Institute for Community Studies, Queens College of the City University of New York, 1971. Page 10.

[52] School Decentralization and School Policy in New York City, Marilyn Gittell and others, Institute for Community Studies, Queens College of the City University of New York; October, 1971.

[53] Ibid., page 28.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[55] Minutes of Public Meeting, March 20, 1972.

[56] *School Decentralization*...; p. 115.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[58] Decentralization Law of 1962, Section 2590-i(7).

[59] *School Decentralization*...; p. 179.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[61] John Saunders, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Public Education Association, before the Board ofEducation, January 18, 1972.

[62] *School Decentralization*...; p. 200.

[63] *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401 (D.C. 1967).

[64] Community Superintendent's Memorandum #118, Community School District #3, April 20, 1971.

[65] Community School System Project, New York Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, in "Proposal for Continuation of Community School System Project as Legal Service Unit for Community School Boards, 1971-1973".

[66] *The New York Times*, September 9, 1972.

[67] *School Decentralization*...; p. 106.

[68] *Fleischmann Commission Report*, as reported by Albert Shanker in *New York Times*, October 29, 1972.

[69] *Fleischmann Commission Report*, Vol. 1, p.1.1.

[70] *Fleischmann*, Vol. 1, p. 1.33.

[71] *Fleischmann*, Vol. 3, p. 14.1.

[72] Fleischmann, Vol. 1, p. 2.6.

A constitutional challenge to New York State's present method of financing public schools through real estate property taxes was filed August 2, 1972 in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York under the title: Thompson et al v. The University of the State of New York. Similar systems of financing have been declared invalid by state or federal courts in California (Serrano v. Priest), New Jersey, Minnesota, Arizona and Texas.

[73] Citizens Union Special Committee on Education Finance.

[74] Fleischmann, Vol. 1, p. 4.2.

[75] Fleischmann, Vol. 1, p. 4.35.

[76] Fleischmann, Vol. 1, pp. 1.62-1.63.

[77] Fleischmann, Vol. 2, p. 6.57 ff.

[78] Fleischmann, Vol. 3, p. 11.91.

[79] Fleischmann, Vol. 3, pp. 13.4-13.5.

[80] Fleischmann, Vol. 3, p. 13.42.

[81] Fleischmann, Vol. 2, p. 6.21.

[82] Fleischmann, Vol. 2, p.6.18.

[83] Fleischmann, Vol. 2, p. 6.34.

CHAPTER

II

THE STUDENT

Intermediate School 55 is located in the Eastern part of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Oceanhill-Brownsville. Of the 1,846 students attending I.S. 55, 85% are black. Most are American blacks. The rest are West Indians from Haiti, Jamaica and the Bahamas. About 15% are Puerto Ricans, many of whom do not speak English well. I.S. 55 is filled with children who defy generalizations about them. The best poet in the school wrote:

When I look in the mirror
I see
More than the outside of me
I see
My black culture
So primitive and bold
An African culture
That's a million years old
All the guilt we've felt
All the pain and terror
That's what I see
When I look in the mirror.

Our poet is being transferred to high school because he has not had sufficient attendance at intermediate school to graduate, and he is too old to be held back.

One of the brightest and most beautiful girls in the school has refused all year to go to classes because she claims her teachers are mean and boring. In the fall, some people allege that she organized a group of black students in attacks on Puerto Ricans. This spring she has spent most of her time during the school day working with several boys in the eighth grade non-reader class, one of whom is Puerto Rican.

Many students write excellent poetry, yet would rather color pictures drawn by an art teacher than risk failing at drawing their own pictures.

Despite the difficulty of making generalizations about them, some things can be said about most of the students at I.S. 55. Most are poor. We estimate that 75% are on welfare, and we know that nearly all are eligible for a free lunch. We know that 89% of the children who entered I.S. 55 in 1971 as 5th graders were reading below grade level; 23% were unable to read at all.

Two years at I.S. 55 in the individualized language arts program have helped some of the children at I.S. 55. In 1971, the 6th grade reading scores were 6.0 (median) and 5.6 (mean). The scores of the children in the eighth grade who had not been in the language arts program were approximately the same, 6.1 and 5.7.

Most children at I.S. 55 are below grade level in mathematics; that is, ¼ to 1/3 of the students in most classes in the school can't subtract, multiply or divide with any efficiency; and ½ can't work with fractions or decimals.

Most children at I.S. 55 know very little of the world outside of Oceanhill-Brownsville when they enter as fifth graders, and many don't enlarge this knowledge during their stay at I.S. 55.

For the past decade, people have tried to find the reasons for the poor academic performance of inner city children. Their explanations have centered around two opposite positions: one which holds that the primary causes for the large scale academic retardation of poor inner city children are associated with their poverty; and the other which holds that the causes for this retardation lie within the school system.

What are the facts as we see them based on our experience at I.S. 55? Are inner city children eager to learn? Or are they really just a bunch of wild, unmanagerable children? What do these children know of the world and what don't they know and why? Why do so many children fail to learn to read well enough to read and enjoy a book about something they are interested in?

What happens to many children in elementary school and how does it affect their attitudes about what education is? Is there any hope for improving the education each child receives?

A. Interest In Learning

All children want to learn, and they learn very well by themselves. Otherwise, they wouldn't know how to run or to speak; because once they didn't know how to do these complicated things. Children are willing to invest a tremendous amount of time and energy in learning things they want to know, as is evidenced by their success at learning something as difficult as the English language.

The children at I.S. 55 come to school in the fifth grade having taught themselves how to speak, ride a bicycle, dance, sing, play several sports, and jump rope without a teacher. Yet most have learned very little of what the elementary schools have tried to teach them. Is it because they are stupid that they cannot read many of the thousands of words that they have been able to speak for seven years? Is it their poverty that prevents them from knowing that Brooklyn is on one side of the Atlantic Ocean and Europe on the other? How is it that they know how to sew and cook and generally manage a household that may include seven younger brothers and sisters?

At I.S. 55 we have found that children are eager to learn about things, and how to do things, that relate to their lives. They will pursue the answers to questions they have raised themselves about something they see, or they will learn how to do something that they feel is important for them to know. At the same time, they will generally not answer other people's questions, or learn how to do things other people think are important for them, with much, if any enthusiasm.

> Item: Miss D___, the dramatics teacher at I.S. 55, walks into a self contained classroom. She stands in front of the classroom and waits for the children in the class who are working by themselves or in small groups to come to attention. "Please come up to the front, I can't teach when you're all over the room." While the children gather in the front, she turns and writes the aim of the lesson on the board:

Aim: To learn about the five senses.

When the children are quiet, she begins,
"Can you name the five senses?"
"Smelling, hearing, seeing," answers one boy.
"That's good," she responds, "What are the others?"
A couple of the boys turn to their regular teacher who is still in the room. "Aw, I don't wanna learn this, can we do sompin else?"
A couple of other children add, "Yeah. I thought we were gonna put on a play."

Miss D___interrupts the children who don't want to listen and speaks to the children's teacher. "Mr. B___, I cannot teach if these children are going to be so disruptive. Would you tell them to pay attention or I'll stop."

Mr. B___then asks his class how many want to do the lesson. All but two want to do something else. Miss D.____appears stunned, but in a moment she begins to talk to the two children who are left. Without a group to teach, or a group lesson to do, she has to think of something else. Suddenly she takes a brightly colored kerchief that is wrapped around her hair and makes a blindfold out of it. She blindfolds one of the boys who is still with her and leads him around the room. She has him touch a desk, a book, the brick wall, a piece of chalk. She makes him guess the name of each thing that he has touched. She sends the other boy for some new objects for the blindfolded boy to touch. Gradually as if by magic, the others, who hadn't wanted to listen to the lesson she had begun with, gather around her and wait to be blindfolded. Ten minutes after she started blindfolding the first boy, every child in the class is watching each child in turn walk around the room blindfolded, guessing what he is touching.

In the above instance, Miss D___was forced to change her lesson. When she allowed herself to start a game with the two boys, she found that, even at age 12, they were very interested in testing out how good their sense of touch was. Her game attracted the rest of the class and began to build a new awareness within them of their own bodies. Later she used this new awareness in producing a play.

The children in Miss D_____'s dramatics class were lucky because they had many other things they could do in their classroom; and their regular teacher did not force them to listen to Miss D___'s lesson. Most children at I.S. 55 have not been so lucky. In the classrooms most have been in since first grade, they have been forced to endure countless lessons that bored them.

> Item: Mr. T___ is teaching a lesson on African history to a class of fifth graders. As he lectures, he writes the most important parts of what he has said on the blackboard. With about 20 minutes left in the class, he stops and tells the class to copy the notes into their notebooks. As they begin, a girl raises her hand and asks him if they have to copy the notes again. Mr. T____ answers that

> they have to copy the notes for two reasons: first, so they can study for the hour exam coming up in two weeks; and second, because if they don't a letter will be sent home explaining how they are refusing to do their school work. The little girl immediately sets to work, for she knows that such a letter to her mother would very likely result in a beating.

Teachers, especially teachers of small children, have a great deal of power over the children in their classes. They can order, cajole, con, and even threaten their classes into behaving in such a way that they look like they are learning to people who believe that children learn best when they are silently sitting up straight in their chairs with pencils in their writing hands.

Mr. T____'s class was such a class. The students in his class were scared to go to his class, but they were more fearful of cutting it. So they went. Some said that Mr. T___ beat a couple of kids for talking, but these kids never told their parents. Every child did his work in Mr. T___'s class, that is every child copied the notes off the board every day into his notebook and took his tests. What they learned is unclear, except for the fact that about a quarter of the children in that fifth grade class could not read the notes they copied off the board.

Contrast Mr. T___'s study of African history with a study of the stock market by the children in an open classroom led by a teacher trained at the Bank Street College of Education:

> Item: Miss R____took her class to Trinity Church in the Wall Street area to see a Christmas play. On their way to the play, the class walked down Wall Street past the New York Stock Exchange. A couple of children asked Miss R____what a stock exchange was, and she tried to explain it. Her explanation raised more questions than it answered; but it succeeded in arousing the interest of a couple of boys in the idea of playing the stock market. Miss R____ decided to actually let the boys play the market using paper money. The idea caught on and soon almost everyone in the class wanted to join the boys. So a central bank was set up to dispense paper money. On a certain day each child in the class bought $3,000 worth of stock with the idea of seeing who could make the most money over the course of three months. Kids started reading The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times, in addition to following their stocks in the tables of the previous days quotations. Hot tips started circulating. Some kids got into studying what companies, profits, loss, and capital investment were. In June a

> party was held for the three kids who made the most money. The 1st prize went to a girl who had doubled her money.

In this study of the stock exchange, the children in Miss R___'s class learned much in the same way small children and adults who are not in school do. That is, the actual creation of a brokerage house, the purchase of stock with paper money, and the contest to see who could make the most money, simultaneously reflect the symbolic domestic play of 4, 5, and 6-year old children and a game structure similar to that used in "Monopoly." At the same time, the children who studied various companies were doing much the same thing as adults who are about to invest real money in the real stock market. At I.S. 55 children seem to be most enthusiastic about learning when they learn in such life-like situations.

> Item: One social studies class of I.S. 55 got in a discussion of where the grandparents of the teachers and administrators at I.S. 55 came from. The question raised quite innocently by a little boy had great possibilities as a basis for a study of what makes up American society. The social studies teacher, Mr. G___ immediately

> seized the opportunity, and the next day got a group of students doing a survey of all the faculty to see where their grandparents and parents had been born. By doing this survey, students worked on how to do a survey, how to compile data, and how to deal with the objections of those teachers who felt that this information was none of their business. In addition, they gained first hand knowledge of the ethnic makeup of a segment of middle class New Yorkers. In reporting their findings to the rest of the class, they were working organizing their data and drawing conclusions from it, much like a television reporter would.

Practically everything a child does except for watching television, reading, and going to school involves some form of play. Thus playing games, building structures, making doll clothes, pretending to be some adult, are for children the most life-like situations of all. Unfortunately, except for kindergarten most schools are places for lessons to be learned and tasks to be done; they are not places for play. Yet we have discovered that lessons which involve play are often learned more rapidly than lessons taught by teachers in the way Miss D___ began her lesson.

> Item: In one of the language arts classes, three boys worked for months on learning to decode correctly similar words like pin and

> pine, mad and made to no avail. Their teacher finally devised a game in which each boy was given a set of 20 cards. On each card a spelling of one English sound was written, i.e., a, o, i, p, t, m. le, pe, be, ck, ll, etc. The object of the game was to be the first to spell with the cards one of the set of difficult words. For being first, a player got a point; and the first player to reach 21 points was the winner. The three boys played the game for four weeks; and at the end of that time, they were able to read the set of problem words.
>
> Item: Instead of having his class memorize the countries on the African continent, one social studies teacher lets groups of students make topographical maps of the continent. The children love to make maps and find when they've finished that they know the countries in their proper positions automatically without having to work at memorizing them.

Children who are about four years old often work on learning how to skip. At that early age they do not try to play basketball. They are not strong enough to throw a basketball 12 feet in the air, not are their hands big enough to dribble the ball; they have not had the experience of playing other, simpler team games like kick ball. Learning to skip is a challenge to four-year-olds because they don't know how to do it; yet because they can usually walk, run, hop and jump, it is a challenge which they can master. In the same way, children at I.S. 55 will work on things that are a challenge, but are not so difficult that they have no chance of succeeding at them.

Mr. T___'s course on African history was made up of a great deal of detailed information on dynasties, tribes, population shifts, religions and political movements, all encased in a chronological scheme that covered more than a thousand years. As we pointed out, one quarter of the children in Mr. T___'s class couldn't read, others were reading on various grade levels, and only 5 or 6 could read on or above grade level. Because they were 10 and 11 years of age, many of the children were only beginning to understand the idea of historical time. Thus, understanding and remembering the material in Mr. T___'s course, which seemed to us to be more suited to high school students, was a challenge which most of the children had little chance of succeeding at, even if they had been enthusiastic.

Each class of 28 children is made up of 28 individuals who differ in their ability to work on the kinds of challenges they are given in their classes. In a typical 5th grade mathematics class, 8 or 9 children will be able to learn fractions, decimals and long division, while 10 or 11 will only be ready to work on various kinds of multiplications; the rest will still be working on subtraction and on learning their multiplication tables.

In September, the reading skills of this same class will be divided into: a group of 5 or 6 who need to work on building their vocabularies and on understanding books written on their grade level; a group of 2 or 3 who need to work on comprehension skills like main idea; a group of 3 or 4 who need to work on decoding words of 3 or more syllables, etc. In this same class, only 10 or 11 children will know how to read a map, while 5 or 6 others will know a little of what a city is, but won't know much about any cities in the Eastern seaboard.

Because of this tremendous variation in ability to work on different challenges, we have found that the children at I.S. 55 learn best in classes that provide challenges that are on the appropriate level of difficulty for each child. Such classes are generally organized in such a way as to allow individual children and small groups of children to work on different activities at their own level and pace.

B. What Children at I.S. 55 Don't Know About the World and Why

The curriculum for each grade in each school in New York City is standardized by the Board of Education. In theory at least, all children who have finished the fourth grade should know approximately the same things. The only variation should be in the extent to which each child knows something or the facility with which he can do something. Thus, Johnny may still remember all of the fifty states, while Janie can only remember 34. Or Joanne might know how to multiply by two numbers better than Tyrone, but they both should be able to solve a word problem like:

> Bill harvested 12 bushels of corn each day for 9 days. How many bushels did he harvest all together?

As we have pointed out with a typical fifth grade class, there is no evidence of standardization at all. Each student is different with respect to what he knows and what skills he needs to work on in reading and mathematics.

In addition to being behind most other students in the U.S. in reading and mathematics, hundreds of children at I.S. 55 who have been "down South" don't know where or what the South is. Many don't have any idea of how their bodies work or how a plant grows, or how to measure the length of feet of a car, or who Marcus Garvey was. To many, Africa is a place for apes, ape men and Tarzan. It would take some children days to get back home from the Bronx even if they had ten times the subway fare.

In essence, what many children who attend I.S. 55 know is a function not of school at all but of what they have learned in the streets and at home and on television.

In light of their willingness to learn, how can so many children fail to learn in school so much of what we take for granted children should know? The process begins in the first grade with children falling behind in reading and mathematics. Once a child has fallen behind, he is likely to fall further and further behind.

By third grade, a child who is behind in reading is in serious trouble. Much of his time must be spent in trying to catch up to grade level. In many elementary school classes, however, instead of spending his time on remedial work on his level of difficulty, he will spend most of his time listening to lessons about a story he can hardly read, or about social studies or science. The remainder of his time will likely be spent in doing tasks related to these lessons that the others in his class will have to do also. If his work involves using a textbook on grade level, he won't be able to do it without help, because he won't be able to read it. He also won't be able to find out about the things in the world he is interested in because his only access to information is through books he won't be able to read.

Reading then seems to be the key to the large scale academic retardation of children at I.S. 55 in all subject areas except mathematics. And we have found that children who are behind in reading are often, though not always, behind in mathematics.

Why do so many children fail to learn to read well enough by the time they are in the fifth grade to read any book they want to? The answer appears to us to be due to a complex of factors: Many teachers' lack of knowledge of how reading is taught; the relative inexperience and the lack of training of many elementary school teachers; and the kind of classroom organization that prevents individual children from working on the kinds of reading challenges they can master.

Because we feel the process of teaching reading both exemplifies the flaws in the way children are taught in elementary school, and is the primary cause for retardation in other subject areas, we will discuss reading at some length.

First, we will describe one of the best basal reading programs on the market. It was developed by the Bank Street College of Education where some of the best teacher training in New York City is done. Yet like so many textbooks that are viewed by some as a solution to reading problems, it has serious deficiencies.

We will then attempt to isolate some of the key deficiencies in the basal reading program that unless compensated for, can lead to severe reading problems by the end of the second grade.

Last we will describe the use of these materials by inexperienced and poorly trained teachers who are unable to compensate for the deficiencies in the program.

We have not included any observations of classes, because we feel that showing a second year teacher who has not been adequately trained, struggling to manage 28 or 30 children, is not necessary. Rather we want to describe the make up of an environment in elementary schools in which many children are doomed to fall behind in reading almost from their very first day of school.[1]

C. The Scope of the Reading Problem at I.S. 55

In September of 1971, 374 fifth graders entered I.S. 55. Of these, 73 were non readers, children who know fewer than 50 words by sight and cannot decode words that they do not know. All but 34 were reading below grade level and could not read anything that a child of ten would be interested in or that would provide the kind of information that he would need to know. For example, the following sentences from Laura Ingalls Wilder's Farmer Boy, were presented to our fifth graders in April of 1972:

> At last he was ready to sew. He laid the pieces of one boot together, and clamped them in a vise. The edges stuck up, even and firm. With his awl, the cobbler punched a hole through them.

Four fifth graders at I.S. 55, whose reading scores were 2.0 to 3.0, read the sentences in the following ways:

> Arthur - 2.0
> At last he was really to saw. He laid the pieces of one boat together, and clamped them in a verse. The edges stuck up, even and film. With his owl, the cobbler punched a hole through them.
>
> Homer - 2.0
> At last he was ready to see. He laid the pieces of one book together, and clapped them in a voice. The edges suck up, even and fearm. With his ole, the cobbler punched a hole through them.
>
> Charles - 3.0
> At last he was ready to sew. He laid the pieces of one boot together, and clammed them in a vise. The edges stuck up, even and firm. With his ole, the coppler punched a hole through them.

Michael - 3.0
At last he was ready to sew. He laid the pieces of one boot together, and clamped them in a vise. The edges stuck up, even and fine. With his awl, the cobbler punched a hole through them.

D. What is Reading?

The key to learning to read well appears to be more than any other factor, the ability to translate written language into speech. The good reader accomplishes this unconciously, almost effortlessly, while the beginning reader has to work at connecting the proper sounds with the letters in words he doesn't already know. Generally he does this by a knowledge of sound letter correspondences, i.e. phonics; or by deducing what the unknown word must be from its context; or by a combination of both processes.

Once a child has turned whatever he is reading into speech, he gets meaning in the same way he gets meaning from what he hears when people talk to him, or when he watches television. The vocabulary and the statements he reads must obviously be somehow linked to his experience, that is, they must trigger meanings for him and describe situations which he can picture. Otherwise, he won't understand what he reads.

Arthur and Homer could not say what the paragraph from Farmer Boy was about because they could not decode sew and boot. The paragraph that they read simply made no sense; and without any pictures to give them some clues as to what it was about, they had no way of even deciphering the paragraph without help. This is the basic problem of most children at I.S. 55.

Charles and Michael, on the other hand, decoded the key words sew and boot and thus had an entry into the meaning of the paragraph. Charles thought that it was about "someone who sewed something" while Michael thought it was about a "cobbler punching a hole." Charles came closer to saying that the paragraph was about a cobbler making (or repairing) a boot. Both were off target primarily because they didn't really know what a cobbler was. Michael thought that a cobbler was someone who "went around a neighborhood picking up broken things like TV's and fixing them."

Once a child can regularly turn what he reads into speech, he is able to learn much of the vocabulary that is often found in prose but seldom in speech. Studies show that children who read a lot do not have to spend much time learning spelling, grammar or how to write. There is also some evidence that children who read a lot don't even have to go to school, a point made by Frank Conroy in his autobiography, Stop-Time.

E. How Reading is Taught

Reading is taught in most elementary schools in the United States primarily through the use of a basal reader program. At one of I.S. 55's feeder elementary schools, the basal reader program that is used is called The Bank Street Readers; and this program is in turn supplemented by a phonics program called the Sullivan Programmed Reading Series. Used by good, experienced teachers in classes where the pupil-teacher/trained para-professional ratio is around 1:15, where individualization of reading instruction is practiced, and where there is meaningful diagnosis of each child's skills needs, these materials would probably be sufficient. The Bank Street Readers and the Sullivan program as they are actually used, however, lead to severe decoding problems in the majority of the children who use them.

The Bank Street Readers were developed in 1964 and 1965 primarily to teach reading to inner city children. Many of the stories and illustrations in the Bank Street series depict life in the city rather than white suburban life, as most basals published prior to 1966 depicted it. The whole Bank Street series is made up of reading readiness experiences, 2 pre-primers, a primer, 2 first readers, 2 second readers, 2 third readers, disposable workbooks, rexograph masters, supplemental materials, and a teacher's manual for each of the readers which provides detailed directions for teachers on how to use the series.

The Bank Street Readers work on seven area of skills in developing a child's ability to read. In all the readers, the skills to be developed are:

Concepts and Vocabulary
Auditory Perception
Visual Discrimination
Phonic Analysis

Structural Analysis
Comprehension and Interpretation
Habits and Study Skills[2]

One is tempted to conclude upon looking at the outline of the skills covered in the whole Bank Street series that once a child finishes the program, he will be well on his way to becoming a good reader. Many of the criticisms leveled at basal readers in *Why Johnny Can't Read,* the book that re-ignited the controversy over the phonics vs. whole word approach to teaching reading, have been answered. Phonics is started in the preprimer and continued through the 3-2 reader.

All of the skills covered are an integral part of the process of learning to read well. Yet close scrutiny reveals serious deficiencies in the phonics program.

First, by the end of the third grade reader, *The Bank Street Readers* have introduced over 1,000 words which the children have been asked to remember. Memory is a weak power in all of us, as evidenced by all that we have forgotten from our school days: the conjugation of *sequor*, *sequi*, *secutus sum*, Latin for "to follow," or the formula for finding the area of a rhombus. We remembered such things when we were using them; but hundreds of the words in The Bank Street Readers are not used often enough to enable many children to remember them. Because memory is so weak, it is absolutely necessary for the Bank Street phonics program to begin from the first reader, to bring children to the point where they can decode any word they do not already know.

The Bank Street series covers in its phonics analysis section most of the spellings of most of the sound in English. But the second deficiency in the program is that the series covers the decoding of sounds in a cursory fashion.

We have found for example, that it takes children who begin our special reading program for non-readers as total non-readers,* 15 to 20 minutes of work on various games and activities daily for 1 to 3 months to master certain decoding skills. One such skill involves decoding words with letters in the Vowel Consonant Silent e (vce) patterns like, file, fine, made, make, lake, pope, hope, etc.;

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*A total non-reader is a child who cannot read one word.

and then distinguishing these words from words that are similar to them but that contain short vowels like fill, fin, mad, Mack, lack, pop, hop, etc.

The purpose of the lessons in The Bank Street Readers on this skill is to bring a student to the point where he can read words like those in the list above, even if he hasn't seen them before. In only two lessons in the whole series of lessons in the second grade reader is the student asked to actually use some knowledge of phonics to decode new words. In the 14 other lessons that are included, he is asked only to distinguish the sound of the long a and the short a; or he is asked to group words that contain long a or short a from words he already knows at sight. For example, the following lesson reviews the long a and the short a.

1. Remind the children that the letter a can have two sounds and briefly review the words on the Key Word Chart for long and short a. If the children are able to hear both sounds without difficulty, tell them that each sound of a has a special name.

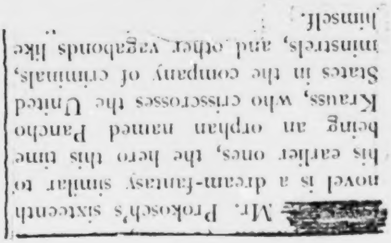
   "The sound we hear in make is called 'long a.' The sound we hear in cat is called 'short a.'" Then explain that you are going to write some words on the board. "Some of

> my words will have the sound of long a which we hear in make. Some of them will have the short a sound that we hear in cat. Read these words to yourself and see if you can tell which sound they have." Write these words in three columns on the chalkboard:
>
> can make lap
> name late same
> back sat fast
> safe day way
> play race hat
> as man space
>
> Distribute lined paper to each child and have the children fold their papers in half. At the top of the first section, have them write the key word cat. At the top of the other section, have them write make. "Read each word on the board and see whether it has the sound of cat or the sound of make. If it has the sound of cat, write it in the first column. If it has the sound of make, write it in the second column."[3]

The third deficiency, revealed in the first line of the above lesson, is that in teaching the phonics, teachers are asked to have children learn and remember a set of phonics rules like "the letter a can have two sounds" so that the children can use these rules to decode unfamiliar words.

If we analyze our own reading, we see that we decode unknown words automatically without resorting to phonics rules which we have long forgotten.

For example, below is a passage taken from The New Yorker magazine which is written upside down and backwards. Though every word but one in the passage is familiar, few words look familiar because they have to be read backwards. Yet the passage can be read upside down using our ability to decode without having to remember any phonics rules.



Mr. Prokosch's sixteenth novel is a dream-fantasy similar to his earlier ones, the hero this time being an orphan named Pancho Krauss, who crisscrosses the United States in the company of criminals, minstrels, and other vagabonds like himself.

We learned to decode so well we can do it without thinking about it; and we learned this skill in one way, by making sense of regular and irregular spellings of English sounds and by practicing. The Bank Street series does help children make sense of English spellings, but since it seldom requires that they practice decoding, it implies that having children learn phonics rules is equivalent to having them decode.

Moreover, the basal reader directs teachers to tell children difficult words when they can't figure them out for themselves. When the class reads a story about butterflies, and comes across the word chrysalis, the teacher tells the class the word. When in another story, they have to figure out carrots, and spaghetti, the teacher tells them the words. He points out the number of syllables, the kinds of vowel sounds in each word, and finally asks the children to remember the words.

What work is left for the children to do? The teacher instead of making the children learn as they learned to ride a bicycle by actually solving problems themselves, has created a new kind of passive learning. All her students have to do is pay attention and she will solve their problems for them. She will only require that they remember what she has told them.

These deficiencies in the Bank Street phonics program make it necessary for schools, like the feeder school cited above, to use a supplementary phonics program, the Sullivan Reading Series. The latter program contains the needed phonics practice. The Bank Street Readers and the Sullivan program must be coordinated carefully. In general, however, the two series are not used properly for two reasons.

First, most of the elementary teachers we know about are inexperienced, and because of that, do not know much about how reading is taught. They must rely heavily on the teacher's guides for direction; and they use the materials with little judgment about what is more important, what should be supplemented and what should be left out. One elementary teacher observed:

> In my first year of teaching I taught in Bushwick. I had a 4th grade class. I didn't know what I was doing and almost every day I just waited until the end of the day. The Teacher's Manual helped; that's all I had. I didn't know a damn thing about reading.

Dependence on the teacher's guide creates a situation in which the already insufficient phonics work competes with the wealth of other activities contained in the guide. The tendency for a new teacher is to do lessons which work best with a majority of children, often without regard to what is best for individual students. In addition, new teachers tend to follow the lessons in the guide exactly, and come to believe that tactics like telling words to students are the correct way to teach reading.

Second, and most important, most teachers, new and old alike, have not been trained to organize a classroom of 28 or 30 children so that children can work individually at their own pace, on the skills that they need to work on. Many also do not know how to establish an effective system of determining where a child is with regard to his reading skills on a weekly or bi-weekly basis.

It is our impression that teacher training colleges in New York City, except for City College and Bank Street College, do not train teachers in open classroom; nor do they give teachers rigorous training in the theory of reading, or in methods of teaching and diagnosing individual children who differ with regard to their reading skills development. Without such training, new teachers are forced to organize their classes along traditional lines. That is, they must base reading instruction on lessons taught to large groups of children.

Two of us were taught in the traditional way in the early fifties in North Carolina and in Connecticut. The teacher divided the class into three reading groups, the good readers, the mediocre readers and the poor readers. She would read a story and talk about it with one group for about 30 minutes while the other groups would work in their work books on specific pages that she assigned to each child in the group. When we finished our work, we were free to read quietly at our seats or to draw. In the spring, if we were lucky, we could go out for recess.

The organization of the classroom into large groups is not necessarily bad for every child. It worked perfectly well for those of us who were in the first reading group and for most in the second group, except that they had to repeat the third grade reader in the fourth grade, which was boring. But group organization did not help the poor readers to improve much, because the kind of skills work given to them was based on guesswork rather than on diagnosis of their individual needs. Each child in the poor reading group did the same pages in a phonics workbook called "Phonics We Use" regardless of whether he had mastered the skill or not. If the skill he was working on was an impossible challenge, he just got all the answers wrong and went on to the next pages in the book the teacher assigned for the next day. When she got a chance, which she seldom did, the teacher would try to work with the 9 or 10 children in the lowest reading group individually. In the school one of us went to in Bloomfield, Connecticut, every teacher had taught for at least 10 years. At one of I.S. 55 feeder elementary schools, 74% of the faculty has had less than 5 years experience. It is little wonder then that the poorly trained and inexperienced teachers at this school are unable to keep up with the 20 or so children who are behind in learning decoding skills, and who at the same time have different amounts of work to do,or each a specific decoding skill.

Diagnostic tests in theory would help; but in reality, most of the diagnostic tests we have seen, including the Metropolitan Achievement Tests used by the Board of Education, merely indicate the presence of some difficulty and the need to look more closely at a child's reading ability. We have found that once several diagnostic tests are given, that several individual conferences, lasting 15 to 30 minutes, are necessary to determine an individual child's skills needs. After that, a minimum of one 30-minute conference every two weeks is required to keep up with a student's progress. Without such diagnosis of skills needs, supplemental phonics programs like the Sullivan program can only be used in a hit or miss fashion. This causes most children who fall behind to stay behind.

How do children fall behind in the first place? The reason, just as the reasons for the children's remaining behind, is the poorly trained teacher's use of her reading materials in large group instruction. In large groups, generally only certain children provide the kind of feedback that indicates how much they are learning. The children who seldom answer questions are thus a mystery.

Because each child has a different rate and a different way of learning, any child might not fully understand a lesson at any time from the first day of school on. Because the teacher must use her time with large groups, she is likely to miss the child who provides no feedback and who does not understand a lesson. Even if she picks him up, it will likely be some time after he has not learned the needed skill. In the intervening time, he will probably not have learned other skills related to the original skill he didn't learn.

F. The Results of Falling Behind

Falling behind in reading produces consequences apart from a child's inability to learn much, because he can't read his textbooks. These consequences indirectly affect his ability to learn by destroying his confidence in himself. This in turn forces him to reject school; or it compels him to ignore everything but the tasks his teacher gives him, so he can get her to tell him he is succeeding. In most cases the student in difficulty will be unaware that he is succeeding at tasks that end up just occupying his time; and unfortunately, he will come to believe that such tasks are an integral part of his learning in school.

What is it like for a 7-year-old child to begin to fail at learning something he wants to know how to do? We can remember the reactions of pre-medical students who wanted to become doctors while they were flunking organic chemistry; and we can remember giving up on physics because it was too hard and dropping the course. A college student has several ways of restoring his self-confidence when he is failing at something. He can drop the course and look back on his past successes. He can blame the teacher for failing to teach him in such a way that he could succeed. Or he can stick with it, get extra help, and double his efforts. If he still fails, he can rationalize by saying something like, "Well, I wasn't cut out to be a doctor anyway." Still, we know people who failed to achieve their dream of becoming something like a doctor; and it has clouded the rest of their lives.

A 7-year-old has no such options. He can't drop reading, and he can't look back on his past academic successes. He could blame the teacher, but he could not spell out his anger as could a college student. Teachers have a profound influence over young children simply because they are with them so much in their formative years. More likely, instead of blaming the teacher, he will blame himself and begin to see himself as a failure. Because he is so young and cannot articulate his self-blame, he will just hold it inside.

If a child who is behind in reading is given challenges that he cannot succeed at, and if his class is not filled with objects for him to explore -- like books, magazines, balance scales, games, animals, plants, arts and crafts supplies, etc., he will find things to do that will occupy his time simply because he is a child. With nothing for him to do, he has no choice but to play in school the games he plays in the streets and at home. In a class filled with 15 or 20 such children, bedlam often ensues. And such classes are inevitable in the schools that have poorly trained and inexperienced teachers, and a large percentage of children who do not read well.

Trying to teach such a class of distracted children is hell, and certain things happen to new teachers who start in September with the best intentions. They become angry and depressed and live from day to day, waiting each day for the final bell to ring. At the same time, they search around wildly for ways of establishing control in their classes, believing, and perhaps rightly so, that order and quiet must prevail for them to get anything done. They have no choice in this search, however, for in many schools it will be their ability to maintain discipline in their classes that will be the most important criterion on which their performance rating will be based.

The teachers who make it, discover several methods of establishing control. They begin to give each child in class work that he can do. Because they are inexperienced, this work ends up being busy work rather than work designed to foster skill development. At the same time, they start telling the parents of "disruptive" children that their children are not doing their school work, the tactic used by Mr. T. Teachers soon learn that this combination of tactics is supremely effective. If a child doesn't do his work, he usually gets a beating. And if he is subdued, the class becomes quiet and orderly.

In their communication with parents, teachers often describe children as lazy or unwilling to do their work, thus placing the blame for a child's being behind conveniently on the child himself. This assignment of blame which is usually echoed by parents, who do not know any better, in turn reinforces the child's sense of his own failure. After all, a teacher has been to college and knows what she is talking about.

For example, out of 22 students entering I.S. 55 in September of 1971 chosen at random, 14 were termed bright on their permanent record cards, while 7 were described as "lazy," four as "slow," two as "being in need of pushing to do their work," four as "stubborn, often refusing to do their work," one as "immature," and one as "never paying attention." In other words, since most of these 22 students were bright and thus able to learn, the fact that they didn't, was blamed on their being lazy. A check of their reading scores reveals that most were indeed behind. Out of the 22, 5 were reading on or above grade level, while the remaining 17 children were reading an average of 2.1 years below grade level.

How can children in the third grade who are reading below grade level, and who see themselves as the cause for their own failures, survive in school until they are old enough to leave? Note that the question involves survival, not learning.

Survival is easy for children who have teachers who are unable to maintain order in their classes; the children just turn their classes into playgrounds. With no meaningful work to do and not being scared of their teachers, the children simply extend summer vacation to include the 10 months of the school year.

For children in well disciplined but traditional classes, two courses are open. Some choose not to try to survive. They cut their class as often as they can, or they get sick for weeks on end. A few like Claude Brown and his friends in Man Child in the Promised Land drop out of school altogether during the warm months and go to school only in the winter to get warm. Those who do try to stay in school learn to survive by developing a variety of adaptive strategies which they use often to their advantage in school. The school day is filled with an endless series of seemingly unconnected tasks which generally involve work in workbooks on their reading level, copying notes off the blackboard, and answering various questions found in text books. This work is given to the whole class or to a group of 10 or 15 children; and each child learns to do all his work everyday. Almost all the lessons taught to children in such a class involve the teacher's asking questions of the whole class or of a large group. The children also learn quickly to give back to the teacher the kind of answer she wants. Perhaps the most important strategy is learning to avoid the kind of behaviour that makes the teacher angry.

These strategies work. And the child soon learns that if he does all his work, gives the right answers, and behaves himself, he will be duly rewarded. This reward, praise and good grades for his performance,will in turn create the illusion that he is learning a lot in school. Tragically, this illusion will be maintained for years, inspite of poor test scores, until someone sits down with him and listens to him read.

G. The Attitude and Beliefs of Children at I.S. about Education

We have shown how children in elementary school fall behind in reading, the results of their falling behind, and the various ways children who are behind deal with the problem of survival in school. We did not describe what happens to children in child-centered, individualized classrooms; for we think that children who are given meaningful and interesting work in school will do it. Such classes are still rare in New York City because people are just beginning to discover how to train teachers to organize individualized classes; and few children at I.S. 55 have spent a significant amount of time in them prior to coming to I.S. 55.

In this section, we will discuss some of the attitudes and beliefs children who enter I.S. 55 have about school, learning, and teachers. In these attitudes lie both the evidence of the kind of elementary school experience the children have had, and paradoxically, the potential for the reawakening of their interest in learning.

Most of the children at I.S. 55 have been in classes in elementary school taught by weak teachers, and in classes taught by teachers who maintained a certain degree of discipline. The majority of the children who continue to come to school after the first couple of weeks of school, and who do not cut classes all day, are those who have developed the adaptive strategies discussed earlier. Certain attitudes about learning, school, and teachers have developed with these strategies; and these attitudes profoundly affect what students believe to be true of education at I.S. 55.

H. Attitudes about Learning

Learning to most students at I.S. 55 has very little to do with the learning they themselves have done without teachers. Students believe that learning is primarily memorizing rules and facts. Many students think that the focus of their learning should be a textbook, lessons about the textbook, and notes taken in class given by the teacher. In fact, one of the most necessary items a student at I.S. 55 can have is a notebook; and he is often punished if he doesn't bring it to school. One teacher at I.S. 55 observed:

> It's incredible! These kids in the fifth grade all taking notes. I didn't learn how to take notes until I was in my last year of prep school.

And then he added:

> One of the first tricks I learned in my first year at I.S. 55 was to put a lot of stuff on the board for my wildest classes. It never failed. If they had 45 minutes of copying to do, the class was quiet. If we tried to discuss a story, even the most interesting and culturally relevant story, all hell would break loose.[4]

Students and parents alike value hardcover textbooks, and many have objected to our extensive use of paperbacks and games instead of hardcover basal readers in the individualized language arts program. Paperbacks don't look as official as do basal readers, and some are almost too interesting to be used in school. Students think they are not learning anything by playing reading games. "Learning ain't supposed to be fun," they say. "We ain't learnin nothin' playin' these games." Students don't believe that they can learn without memorizing masses of information, or a list of rules governing decoding, or mathematics. Learning must be hard work, anything else is baby work.

Because most students have only been in classes in elementary school that are chaotic or strict and traditional, they tend to believe that the teacher should be the center of the class's learning. The teacher should give all the children in the class the work they are to do each day, and the students are to do it when they are told to. The idea of a student's choosing to do certain activities from a large group of activities, or the idea of determining when he will do a required piece of work, is foreign to most students.

Students are almost totally dependent upon the teacher by the fifth grade, and they are bewildered by being given some responsibility in their own education. The students need the teacher to tell them whether they are right or wrong, whether they are learning or not, even whether they are good or bad.

At I.S. 55 where several of our fifth grade classes have been based on the idea of individual students working at their own pace on skills they need to work on or on studying things they are interested in, teachers have found that they have to remove themselves gradually from being the center of the entire class's activities. Otherwise, students don't know what to do, and near chaos soon breaks out.

Because students have not been required to make any judgments of what is good or bad for them to do, and because they are so dependent upon their teachers, they often uncritically accept the decisions people at I.S. 55 make for them. Similarly, parents, many of whom don't know much of what education is or can be, also tend to accept the decisions made for their children.

> Item: A boy who was in a CRMD class (class for Children with Retarded Mental Development) for four years was retested by a guidance counselor at I.S. 55 who suspected that he was not retarded. The tests confirmed her suspicions, and he was taken out of the CRMD class. He hadn't learned to read or do mathematics in his four years in the CRMD class. When he was taken out of the class, he was over 14 years old, 6 months from finishing I.S. 55.

> Item: The report card of a sixth grader shows a 55 in math and English, a 65 in science and a 65 in social studies. The official teacher's comment reads, "E is frequently late." Underneath is E's mother's signature and no other comments

In effect, most students and parents are as ignorant of the educational commodity they are getting, as they are of the workings of city government. The net result of this is to place in the hands of teachers that students and parents respect, great power to influence children in one way or another about education.

A respected traditional teacher make his students believe that learning what is in a social studies text is a worthwhile task, or that passing the Board of Education's social studies exam is necessary. A respected child-centered teacher can persuade his students that he doesn't always know the right answer and that it is their job to find the answers to their own questions.

I. Attitudes about Teachers

What kind of teachers do students respect? By the time a child gets to I.S. 55, he has experienced a lot of chaos in school. Students at I.S. 55, and in most other schools in the United States for that matter, cannot respect a teacher unless he can control his classes. This fact was voiced by a girl who was explaining why she only went to her math class:

> Most of these teachers ain' no DAMN good.
> They can't get their classes down to it.
> You know, students run around like crazy
> and nobody don' learn nothin.

In other words, the most important part of a teachers job is providing an environment in which students can learn something; and this environment begins with order. Generally, students mean by "order," sitting at desks which are in rows and not talking and doing what they are told to do. But those students in individualized classes come to believe that a well-ordered class is one in which they can work side by side without interfering with one another. How do teachers do it? To most students, teachers achieve order by being "someone you don't play with."

> Item: The teacher has been called to the Office leaving two student teachers working with the class which has been divided up into groups. Suddenly an argument breaks out over one student's accidently knocking over another student's four-foot high tower made of cuisinaire rods.
>
> "You can't say you're sorry."
> "It was an accident. I ain't gonna say I'm sorry when it wasn't my fault."
> "You knocked it over."
> "It wasn't my fault."

"You knocked it over."
"Man, I told you, it wasn't my fault."
"You knocked it over, you can't say you're sorry?"
"No, I ain't gonna either."
"You won't say you're sorry, mother fucker?"
"Who you callin a mother fucker?"
"You, mother fucker."
"Your mother,"
"You talkin about my mother...Your sister."
"Your sister stands on the corner every night."

One boy pushes another, fists are raised, the rest of the class gets up and makes a circle around the two boys. All this has happeded before the student teachers can react, and it is too late.

"Stop it," one student teacher yells, "Stop it now." The boys do not seem to hear.

Suddenly, there is the sound of a key turning in the door.
"There go K," someone warns.

Mr. K walks into the room and puts his papers down on his desk. He stares at the group assembled in the far corner, his eyes are cold, a look of anger mixed with disbelief is on his face. He begins to speak so softly that the group has to strain to hear. "This fight is to stop by the time I count to three." The group begins to disperse and go back to what it was doing before the fight. Only the two boys remain, their hands at their sides, their eyes lowered.

"Frankie, why are you fighting?"
"George broke my tower that took me all morning to build."
"It was a accident."
"Wait a minute, George let Frankie finish."
"And when I asked George to say he was sorry, he started callin' me a mother fucker."
"George, Frankie said that you knocked over the

tower he spent all morning building. Is that right?"

"Yeah, but it wasn't my fault 'cause Homer pushed me. An he shouldn't have been talkin about my mother and my sister. An I'm gonna kick his ass when you ain't around, K.

"You gonna kick whose ass?"

Mr. K steps between them, "Homer come over here. Did you push George into Frankie's tower?"

"Yeah, but we was only playin, I didn't mean no harm."

"Your playing caused a lot of hard feelings. I think you owe Frankie an apology."

"Yeah, OK, I'm sorry Frankie.

"As for you two: George if you were playing with Homer and that was the reason you got pushed, then I think you owe Frankie an apology, too. But that's your decision. As for the rest of the fight, finish it at 3:00 outside. Instead of fighting at 3:00, George and Frankie went to an after-school center together as they often did, to play some basketball.

The students in Mr. K's class knew that he "didn't play." His mere presence stopped the fight. The boys knew that they were in trouble with their parents if they didn't stop. Yet Mr. K was fair with the boys. Instead of blaming one or the other, he used an approach that Haim Ginott in Between Parent and Child suggests parents use when intervening in a dispute between siblings. In Mr. K's class, there are no fights, no silly games between boys and girls, no loud talking. Each day in Mr. K's class, his students work.

Though students do not explain why, they also respect teachers who have high and definite expectations of what they can do, though it doesn't really matter what exactly these expectations refer to. One teacher can expect his students to memorize all the parts of the human body, while another can expect that they will learn to do macrame. Teachers must be fair and have the ability to empathize with their students. They must have self-control, for students lose all respect for a teacher who loses his temper. It helps to be creative or to use creative ideas, but it is not necessary.

Students also respect teachers who can play basketball or who have some unusual talent or skill such as singing, drawing, painting, and playing a musical instrument. A sense of humor often helps smooth out what might be rough situations; and as part of being a more human person in students' eyes, humor is a valuable asset for a teacher to have.

Whether a teacher is white or black is not in the long run of major importance to students. Seeing blacks in positions of authority is still a new and exciting idea for students; at the same time students demand that blacks be capable. In fact, students often react more negatively to incompetent blacks than they do to incompetent whites.

J. The Power of Teachers

It is teachers who have caused most of the retardation of students who enter I.S. 55. And it is teachers, upon whom students at I.S. 55 depend to order their lives at school and to foster their learning. Teachers who are respected have great power to get children to learn almost anything. Unfortunately, not enough well trained and respected teachers are on the faculty at I.S. 55 to bring the majority of students to the point where they are capable of learning on their own.

ENDNOTES

[1] This portion of the study is based on a few observations of elementary school classrooms, on conversations with teachers who have taught in elementary schools, and on conversations with student teachers at Brooklyn College who had taught in elementary schools before coming to I.S. 55. Though our evidence is not exhaustive, we feel strongly that if one were to visit every elementary school classroom in Bedford-Stuyvesant for at least a day, and were to carefully compile his observations, that the thesis of this part of the chapter would be borne out.

[2] Taken from the Teacher's Guide to Uptown-Downtown, Bank Street College for Education, (New York, 1965). page 395.

[3] From the Teacher's Guide to My City, Bank Street College of Educationa, page 163.

[4] The comments of an English teacher at I.S. 55 in his second year of teaching, during the 1969-70 school year.

CHAPTER

III

THE TEACHER

A. Background

At I.S. 55 there are 119 teachers on the faculty. Of these about 80% are New Yorkers, 12% are blacks who grew up in the South, 5% are people from Puerto Rico or a Spanish-speaking country, and 3% are people who grew up in an area outside of New York. At least 80% of the New Yorkers are Jewish; the rest Irish or Italian. Most of these teachers grew up in a middle class or lower middle class areas of Brooklyn or Queens. They attended the public schools for the most part and graduated from one of the colleges of the City University. Most of the blacks grew up in the South and went to college at a black college in the South.

I.S. 55 opened its doors in February of 1968. Since then only a handful of teachers who grew up in the ghetto and who have known about poor ghetto children first hand have been on the faculty. The rest of the people on the faculty had been separated in one way or another from the children they teach until coming to I.S. 55. The New Yorkers grew up in middle class neighborhoods like Flatbush which contain few blacks. Most of the them went to neighborhood elementary and junior high schools and a high school and college which, because of competitive entrance exams, were almost exclusively white and middle class. Those teachers from outside of New York City grew up in affluent suburbs and went to colleges whose only blacks were often wealthier than they were. In place of first hand knowledge of the poor urban child, most new teachers at I.S. 55 have brought with them a conception of this child which is based on accounts of life in the slums in the media and in the books on the inner city published since 1960. Many of these accounts, in an attempt to show the truth about the horrible conditions in the slums, have painted a negative picture of the child. And it is this negative image of the child that many teachers bring with them to I.S. 55, along with the generally middle class beliefs, attitudes, values and prejudices that they have assimilated from their respective backgrounds.

Of these preconceptions, we feel that the beliefs that teachers have about the intellectual potential of poor children, and about public education as it is today in New York, are the most significant. Teachers fall into roughly two groups with respect to their beliefs about the intellectual potential of poor children.

A majority believe that poor children -- with some exceptions of course -- are less capable of learning in school than are middle class children because of the negative effects of poverty. These negatives include the long term effects of poor nutrition, lead poisoning, poor housing, lack of parental attention, poor health care, lack of books in the home, and the lack of educational experiences outside of school. When the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy errupted, much attention was paid to the question of racism among teachers. We have known few overtly racist teachers who say that they believe that black children are intellectually inferior because they are black. In a sense, our society is racist in that it allows the separation of the races, and presumably most teachers have some racial prejudices. But these are not verbalized directly by teachers as they are in James Herndon's The Way It Spozed To Be or in Jonathan Kozol's Death At An Early Age.

About a third of the teachers at I.S. 55 believe that poor children are as capable of learning as middle class children, provided they are given experiences which foster learning. The evidence for these beliefs lies primarily in the thought of men like Jean Piaget and Caleb Gattegno and the demonstrated successes of schools like Harlem Prep, the English Infant Schools in the poor areas of English cities, Lilliam Weber's open classroom schools in Harlem, and in the successful language arts program at I.S. 55.

Most of the teachers who believe that poor children are less capable of learning in school than are middle class children, believe also that the school system in New York City is basically a good one. Indeed these teachers hold that I.S. 55's difficulties are due primarily to the students' lack of self-control, and secondarily to the administration's inability to control the students. They argue further that if children would behave and follow the rules, they would learn what they are supposed to. These teachers generally do not question the way they teach, out of ignorance of the alternatives which exist. They firmly believe that education is what teachers do to and for students, rather than what students do to and for themselves with a teachers assistance.[1] The other group of teachers believes that it is the school system's fault when a child fails to learn.

The teacher training that teachers at I.S. 55 received in the university has not disspelled whatever negative views of students that teachers have had; more often than not, it has reinforced these views. Often teachers are prepared for ghetto teaching by reading the most important books on the subject. Often teachers encounter explanations of why the poor fail; and these attempts to understand poverty have become in effect justifications for the absurdity of trying to teach children who cannot succeed because of their poverty. Moreover, the teacher training has not prepared teachers to teach at a school like I.S. 55. All but a few new teachers have been unable to manage a class until several months or even a year after they began. Most of the education courses that teachers have taken are taught by people long removed from the classroom who often know as little as their students about the urban child.

In the Spring of 1968, one of us enrolled in a Master's Degree program in Human Development at an institution of higher learning in Maryland. While this institution trains teachers primarily for school systems in the State, it had begun to acknowledge the need for preparing teachers for the inner city. One of the courses forcused on the inner city child; but instead of going into the city to observe children first hand, the class read several books about education in the inner city. The teacher of the course acknowledged his lack of first hand knowledge about the urban poor, and even suggested that the one of us who took the course return the next spring semester and discuss his experiences in Ocean Hill.

Charles Silberman in Crisis in the Classroom cites another example of the same phenomenon:

> The educational psychology department in the school of education at a large university in the Southwest voted to abandon a program which had each of the two hundred students in a required course in child development spending one morning a week working with an individual child in a local elementary school. Working with children, the educational psychologists explained, took too much time away from the academic content of the course.[2]

Of all the aspects of teacher training, most teachers that we know agree that practice teaching is the most valuable. At I.S. 55, however, many teachers who obtained substitute licenses during the 1968-69 teacher shortage did not have any supervised practice teaching experience. Of those who did, only one teacher, who went to the Bank Street College of Education, where supervised practice teaching and weekly colloquia devoted to discussions of each student teacher's experience are the core of the two year master's program, received adequate training. The other teachers spent too little time practice teaching, and were not closely supervised. These teachers received little feedback on their performance and had little opportunity to discuss in small groups what they had observed. Often the dominant influence on the new teachers, during their practice teaching, was the classroom teacher to whom they had been assigned. These classroom teachers almost always were the same kind of teachers the practice teachers had had in school. Because of this, the student teachers were convinced that the way of teaching they observed is the only way teaching is done.

The consequences of this kind of inadequate teacher training have changed little since 1904 when John Dewey wrote that the teacher has not received

> the training which affords psychological insight -- which enables him to judge promptly (and therefore automatically) the kind and mode of subject matter which the pupil needs at a given moment to keep his attention moving forward effectively and healthfully: He does know, however, that he must maintain order; that he must keep the attention of the pupils fixed upon his own questions, suggestions, instructions, and remarks, and upon their lessons, for that after all was the way he was taught.[3]

Over the past four years at I.S. 55, the percentage of poorly trained teachers who have negative beliefs about the students' ability to learn has remained relatively constant. There are essentially two reasons for this fact: high teacher turnover in each of the four years of I.S. 55's existence, and the difficulty in finding suitable replacements for the teachers who leave.

The relation between high teacher turnover in ghetto schools and the poor quality of education in those schools is well known. At I.S. 55 it occurs for several reasons. For many of the teachers at I.S. 55 who intend to stay in education in the New York City schools, moving up in the system means moving into a good school outside of the ghetto or into some kind of supervisory position. Others who come to I.S. 55 to avoid the draft, or to have a job while waiting to find a husband, have been ready to leave from the first day they came. Many of those who have been teaching at I.S. 55 by choice have also left. Many, especially the young blacks, have been eagerly sought by universities who lack people with a first hand knowledge of the city. Others have left to teach in Europe, or in a school outside of New York City.

Life on a teacher's salary in New York City is not as pleasant as it is in other cities, or in the country. At I.S. 55 many of the good teachers are not from New York City and do not like living in New York. Unlike many who come to New York to practice law, or to work with large corporations and find the best jobs in New York, teachers can teach anywhere. Indeed the good teachers at I.S. 55 would probably be outstanding in schools outside of New York. Many good teachers feel that their efforts are largely futile, apart from what they can do for individual students on a day to day basis. These teachers feel rather like they are playing their hearts out on a lousy team made up mostly of players who don't care about winning. They feel good about being tough when the going is tough, but after a while they get discouraged.

Finding good replacements for the teachers who leave I.S. 55 is difficult. More often than not, we have had to take whatever people we could get because so few people have applied for jobs. And it is little wonder that I.S 55 gets so few applicants. People generally do not want to teach in an intermediate school in Bedford-Stuyvesant. People who do want to teach there are discouraged by the complexity of obtaining a license through the Board of Examiners and the irresponsibility of the school board members who are supposed to interview new teachers. Several times this year at I.S. 55 for example, people who had applied to fill the vacancies on the staff were kept waiting by board members for as long as a day. These applicants gave up and did not return.

B. What is Teaching?

Before we assess the quality of teacher performance at I.S. 55, we should examine what is meant by the word "teacher" in the middle class and poor urban schools that we are familiar with.[4] The traditional outlook on education, which was the academic basis for the schools most of us went to, views learning as primarily remembering, and teachers as people who get children to remember what the school wants them to remember. The act of teaching, according to traditional terms, requires that teachers tell things to students or tell students about things. Another outlook on education which has coexisted with the traditional and is found in one form or another in the work of Maria Montessori, Caleb Gattegno and others, holds that learning is a change in a person's functioning as well as understanding and remembering, that children are individuals, and that they learn by experiencing. Teaching in this view is helping students to learn by providing experiences which lead to knowing how to do something or to understanding.

Traditional teaching is generally aimed at large groups of children and consists primarily in the presentation by teachers of what are called "developmental lessons." A typical lesson proceeds in this way: First, the teacher gets the class interested in the lesson by asking a question about the material to be learned, or by showing some pictures, or other objects that raise questions about the lesson among the children; once the children have become interested, the teacher asks more and more specific questions about the lesson until she gets the class or someone in the class to state the skill or concept to be learned; the teacher then elaborates on the skill or concept until ostensibly each child understands it; finally the teacher gives each child in the class exercises with which the child can demonstrate that he knows what has just been "taught."

The traditional teacher is the center of whatever learning a child does in school. He determines what is taught, the order in which it is taught, and largely what questions are asked of each child each day. In a school where traditional teaching is done, the individual needs and interests of children are of secondary importance.

This is not so in Montessori Schools, the English Infant Schools, or in schools where individualization of instruction is practiced. In these schools teaching in understanding what a child's needs are, or what he is interested in exploring, and then providing experiences which the children work on so as to produce things like reading almost as a by-product of their explorations. For example, Maria Montessori noticed that preschoolers were working on distinguishing between colors, textures, and smells; so she designed materials featuring these differences which the children would play with.

Teachers presented the materials to the children in such a way that the children's play extended their awareness of subtle differences in color, texture, and smell. As a by-product, this play generated the foundations of mathematics by exercises in thought classifying, and of reading, through producing hundreds of words that were closely linked to each child's experience.

The success of traditional teaching depends on the teacher's ability to interest the class and hold their interest, and his ability to be lucid in his explanations. These abilities can be developed by adopting techniques and ideas of previous successful teachers, and by practice. Often the most successful traditional teacher has natural qualities like good looks, a sense of humor, and a natural histrionic sense which make him attractive to students. Because no systematic assessment of individual needs and interests of children exists as part of the criteria for success in the traditional schools we know, traditional teachers need have only a cursory awareness of the functionings of children at various stages in their development.

In middle class schools that we know about, like Landon, in Maryland, traditional teaching is relatively easy to do. Middle class children generally do not actively resist teachers who bore them, or who teach them something they already know or can't possibly understand. Instead, they daydream or read or do something that will quietly occupy their time until the lesson is over. The children who don't understand a lesson or who don't feel like paying attention on a certain day know that they can get extra help at home. Children who are not interested in what is taught are cooperative in school out of fear of committing the middle class mortal sin of being naughty in school; or out of a desire to compete with and best their classmates.

> Item: The students file noisily into the classroom. Their faces are red. Some are out of breath. They talk to the children seated next to them mostly of the games they have just finished during recess. Mr. A__ waits for a moment. "I hope you had a good recess. Today we have a visitor from New York. I hope you'll

> show him how really good at math you are." As Mr. A__ begins to speak, the class becomes silent. There is some soft talking when Mr. A__ mentions my presence; but it stops when he begins to speak again. Yesterday we talked about the formula for finding the volume of a cube. "Does anyone remember it?" Hands shot up in the air from all over the room. "Me, Mr. A__, call on me." "I know it." "All right, John." "The volume of a cube equals the side to the third power." "What does to the third power mean, John?" "It means that you take the length of a side and multiply it by itself three times." Mr. A__ smiles, "Good, John. Are there any questions about that formula from anyone?" Mr. A__ looks around the room. No one seems to have a question. "All right, I guess I'll find out if you have questions when I correct the homework. Today we are going to find the formula for finding the surface area of a cube. What is the difference between the surface area of something and the volume of something?" Six hands are raised, three with conviction and three hesitantly. Mr. __ calls on one of the unsure people. "Surface area is the area on the surface end," Mr. A__ breaks in, "What do you mean by that Judy?" "Well Mr. A__, if you take something like a cardboard box..."

The teacher described in the above anecdote had had three years of teaching experience. He wanted to make teaching a career and was seriously thinking of staying in the Acton schools. He received his formal training in education after graduation from a large university in Boston. Much of what he knew about teaching was based on recollections of his own teachers, and on what he had learned from other teachers. The lesson on the finding the surface area of cube went well. The arrangement of the desks in a horseshore, rather than in rows, probably contributed to this success, because each student faced the teacher. Enough children responded to this teacher's questions to enable him to elicit a statement of the formula from the class. Had he not had as many students with him, he would have had to ask more interesting questions than "What is the difference between the surface area of something and the volume of something?" That he didn't have to resort to such questions, is an important characteristic of teaching a group of middle class children.

Teaching in the traditional way in a school in Bedford-Stuyvesant filled with poor children is much more difficult than it is in a middle class school.

> Item: My first real day -- it's as if I had never taught before. At Landon on my very first day my sixth graders waited quietly in a line until I arrived. I said good morning, opened the door to the classroom and waited while each boy took a seat. I hadn't asked them to sit down. They just sat down and then looked up at me, appraising me, silently, waiting until their master -- which is what I was called -- uttered his first words of wisdom. Not so at I.S. 55. My last class of the first

> day arrived. Some took seats, several groups of boys stood around talking and teasing one another. I waited and tried to look like the business of the class was to begin, to no avail. My presence seemed irrelevant to all, when behind me I heard the slow rymthmic shuffling of feet. The sound drew nearer until two boys, one 6'3" or 4", the other built like a good halfback, stood on either side of me, still slowly dancing to a rhythm I couldn't hear.
>
> "Just call me Killer," the tall boy said.
> "Yeah," the other boy said," and just call me Cool."
> The class burst into cheers and laughter.
> "Right on, Johnny," someone said.
> "What are your real names," I asked looking at Killer and Cool.
> "Arthur___," the tall boy said.
> "Eddy ___," the shorter boy said.
> "Thank you," I said, "Now would you sit down."
> "Aw, comeon teacher."
>
> The boys moved toward the desks. "Would everyone sit down, I would like to find out your names." I hadn't really raised my voice and few people seemed to hear me. I waited a minute and then I shouted the same request. I hadn't wanted to shout, but I did. I was getting angry. The noise made me edgy, and I resented the fact that I, who had come to Ocean Hill for the most honorable of reasons, was being ignored.[5]

Compared to middle class students, students at I.S. 55 are generally less docile, less willing to accept the traditional lesson - a lesson which does not interest them or which they are unable to understand because they cannot read well enough or do not know the vocabulary used by the teacher. Since students of I.S. 55 cannot go outside for recess and have gym only once a week, they use their energy in games played in the classroom or in the halls. These games which are noisy, complex, and attractive to students often prevent teachers from being able to begin their traditional lessons.

More important, we have found that traditional teaching has failed to meet the real needs of children. If we look for a moment at our own learning history, we can see that we learned what we needed to know when we needed to know it. Though we learned many of the same things as our friends, we learned at different times and at different rates. Because we needed to speak before we needed to control our bowels, we learned to speak first, though learning to speak is an immeasurably more difficult task than learning to control our evacuation sphincters.

Traditional schools dictate that all children need to know certain things at certain times. These artificially imposed needs are based on traditional adult ideas of what is necessary, rather than on the observable functionings of children. Thus a discrepancy exists from the first day of school, between the needs of children defined by the school, and the real needs of individual children.

In the kindergarten of one elementary school we know of, all children had to "learn" the alphabet at the same time despite the fact that several children already knew it. Because of this discrepancy, traditional oriented schools and parents have to build up a set of artificial needs within children, which makes them want to learn what they are told to learn. Examples of these needs include the need to be successful and to avoid failure; and the need to avoid punishment and humiliation in school. Traditional middle class schools are so successful at building up these artificial needs, that almost any teacher, whether experienced or not, can teach in the traditional way.

From what we have seen at I.S. 55, parents and the elementary schools are considerably less adept at building up these artificial needs in children. Thus, when most teachers try to teach traditional lessons which do not meet the natural needs of the children in their classes, they fail, because the children stop listening to their questions. The teachers have nothing to fall back on to make the students listen; the lesson fails, and the children learn nothing.

The second type of teaching that we have discussed, called today open classroom teaching, individualization or child-centered teaching, does not depend on a set of artificial needs in children. Rather, the natural curiosity of young children, and the child's ability to learn on his own if asked the right questions provide the focus of this kind of classroom. The problem with this type of class is that it is extremely complex, because often it can involve 20 to 25 children working on different activities at the same time. To be effective at running such a classroom, a teacher must be thoroughly trained in child development and the management of this type of classroom. He must be able to create a learning environment filled with materials and activities from which children can learn how to read and do mathematics, as well as learn about the things they are interested in. Such training is provided at only a few places in the country: Bank Street College, City College, the University of Connecticut, the University of North Dakota, to name those that we know about.

C. Quality of Teacher Performance at I.S. 55

The question of how to judge the quality of any teacher's performance is being debated in various school systems throughout the country. We feel from our experience that it should be judged according to the degree of interest engendered in students, the amount of skills developed, and the extent to which students learn to work independently to find their own answers to questions, and to cooperate with, and help other students. Finding agreed upon, objective measures of these criteria has up until now proved impossible.

Traditional educators define good teacher performance in terms of the degree of a teacher's control, good test scores, and the lack of parent complaints. Our judgments of performance at I.S. 55, and at the middle class schools we are familiar with, will take the above criteria into account; but our judgments will in the last analysis be subjective.

Based on our judgment, we will argue essentially that the quality of teacher performance in teaching in the traditional way in middle class schools is probably better than that at I.S. 55. We will also imply that the way to improve the schools in Bedford-Stuyvesant, in so far as I.S. 55 is typical of them, is not to try to import large numbers of teachers from middle class schools, but to improve the training of the teachers who come to teach in Bedford-Stuyvesant, and to so structure the schools that they are more human than they are now.

About 25% of the faculty at I.S. 55 are good traditional teachers. Most have had several years experience, and have been at I.S. 55 since it opened in 1968. These teachers are generally strong people, sure of themselves and of what they are trying to get their students to learn.

> Item: Mr. B__ stands outside his classroom waiting for his next class to arrive. Slowly, the students begin to file past him. Some talk quietly to a friend, a couple say good morning to Mr. B__. The desks in the class are arranged in rows and each student takes a seat which was assigned to him at the beginning of the year. On the blackboard under the heading "Do Now" are three questions which pertain to the previous night's reading. As each student sits down, he takesout a piece of paper, puts his name and the date on the top right hand corner, and his class and the name of the school in the top left hand corner and begins to answer the questions. While the students are working on the questions, Mr. B__ walks in,

> sits at his desk facing the rows of desks and begins to call the roll.

The teacher just described is black, but several white teachers also teach well in the traditional way at I.S. 55. Mr. B__ is respected by practically every student in the school. Students say that they hate him, perhaps the greatest compliment a traditional teacher can be given. He teaches social studies and uses essentially the same lesson for each of his classes each day. His course is centered around a textbook and the lessons are often based on the previous night's readings. In addition to group lessons, this teacher has his students work on research projects which pertain to the area of history the class is studying at the time. Though presumably every student is not interested in every topic Mr. B__ covers, Mr. B__ is able to make every student behave himself in class, even if the student doesn't want to learn what is being taught.

About 20% of the faculty at I.S. 55 run a good individualized program. Many of these teachers were trained to be traditional teachers, but were shown at I.S. 55 how to run an individualized program. These teachers have half-sized classes with 10 to 15 students in them, and are concerned primarily with bringing the 5th and 6th grades at I.S. 55 up to grade level in reading and writing. To accomplish this goal, the teachers give each child his own program of study based on upon the child's reading and writing skills needs, and his interest.

The remaining 55% of the faculty at I.S. 55 can be broken down into 4 major groups. About 20% are traditional teachers who intend to stay in education in the New York City schools, but who will probably end up, after probation and the mandatory 5-year stay at I.S. 55, teaching in a middle class school or being a guidance counselor or an administrator. The members of this group are not as good at traditional teaching as Mr. B__, primarily because they are not as good at controlling their classes. They do not like working with poor children as much as they would like working with middle class children. Some believe, as one of this group of teachers put it, that middle class Jewish children are the best kind of students to teach.

Close to 10% of the faculty are traditional teachers, with one or two years experience, who do not intend to stay in teaching. These teachers attend some kind of graduate school at night with the ultimate intention of going into law, business or some other field outside of education. The quality of performance of this group is roughly equivalent to that of the group previously described.

About 15% are new teachers who spend most of their time in the first six months of the year learning to control their classes. Their performance is poor from lack of experience.

The remaining 10% are almost totally unable to maintain order in a classroom or to teach anyone anything. This group includes people with personality problems so severe that they have a hard time relating to children under most circumstances, people with alleged drug problems, and people who are unwilling to work apart from going to their scheduled classes.

In the middle class schools that we are familiar with, the quality of teacher performance, whether traditional or not, does not vary much from the example of the math teacher in Acton (p 205). As we have pointed out earlier, teaching traditional lessons to middle class children is relatively easy, compared with teaching the same kind of lesson to poor children.

For example, at Landon, classes taught by new teachers usually do as well on standardized tests as do classes taught by teachers who have been at Landon 10 or 20 years. The middle class schools generally attract several applicants for every vacant position. Most people on the faculties of the middle class schools have had several years of experience, because few teachers leave from year to year. To stay in these middle class schools, a teacher has to continually improve his performance. He has to grade his papers, make his lessons more interesting, and be responsive to parents' wishes. Because of the small size of his school (at least compared to the size of schools in New York City), if he does not perform, people will find out. Supervisors and parents will apply pressure, and his contract will not be renewed.

Perhaps most important, teachers in the middle class schools are middle class like the students they teach, and have high and definite expectations with regard to students' capabilities. The importance of teacher expectations in affecting student performance has been cited by many since Robert K. Merton first presented his theory of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" in 1948. This theory as summarized by Charles Silberman holds that "in many if not most situations, people tend to do what is expected of them -- so much so, in fact, that even a false expectation may evoke the behavior that makes it seem true."[6]

The notion of the self-fulfilling prophecy was used by many during the teacher's strike of 1968 to justify Rhody McCoy's firing of teachers. Racist teachers with low expectations of students, in effect, cause their students' failures, it was said.

The same theory also can be used in part to explain the extraordinary performance of students at Landon. Each boy at Landon was considered bright by the fact of his having been admitted. From that point he was expected to do 3 to 4 hours of homework a night, to behave at all times like a gentleman, to play organized tackle football at age 8, to be able at age 11 or 12 to read, understand, and even put on a production of a Shakespearean play.[7] Though Landon can be criticized for being elitist and unresponsive to the needs of some of its students, especially those not interested in sports, all of its students were admitted to college, many with 1 or 2 years advanced placement.

At I.S. 55, the variation in the quality of teacher performance from good to bad is also due to several factors. Few teachers want to teach at I.S. 55, and often we have been faced with filling vacant positions with anybody who applies. Thus several teachers teach subjects for which they are not licensed, and semi-competent people replace semi-competent people. Teacher turnover at I.S. 55 has been as high as 20% per year. Good experienced teachers and teachers of mediocre ability leave because of better opportunities elsewhere, or because they are simply exhausted. Some poorer teachers have left because they have not been successful, although many have stayed for 2 or 3 years.

Unlike the middle class schools we are familiar with, teachers in certain departments of I.S. 55 do not have to continually improve their performance, once they have learned to keep an orderly class. There is less pressure on these teachers because of the lack of leadership in their departments, and the large student body of I.S. 55. A teacher who can control his class at I.S. 55 is an asset because of the disorder in the school resulting from the failure of teachers who cannot control their classes.

The effective disciplinarian will also be able to achieve a good performance rating from his supervisor, largely because of his class control. Teachers are rated once a year by being formally observed by their supervisor. Since supervisors must announce in advance that they will make an observation, the teacher with good control can make sure that the lesson he will teach for his observation will be nearly perfect, even to the extent of having his class practice it in advance. Whether or not the children learn what they are supposed to is irrelevant, because no one has any way of checking. Parents don't seem to care, or if they do care they seldom put pressure on teachers. Thus it is possible for teachers with good control to obtain tenure easily, and then to coast along, teaching the same lessons year after year.

As we described in the section on the background of teachers at I.S. 55, a large proportion of our teachers believe that poor children are less capable of learning than middle class children. Consequently the fault for the failure of education lies with the children and with the school administration. This like-thinking group is made up largely by traditional teachers and includes many of the good traditional teachers as well as the mediocre and the poor traditional teachers. Beliefs about poor children being inferior take the burden of improving education off the teacher's shoulders and conveniently place it somewhere else, enabling many teachers to survive in what would otherwise be a defeating environment.

These negative beliefs also seem to affect student performance, as part of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Decisions like "I won't teach this because it is too hard for them" or attempts to remake poor children into obedient middle class kinds are generated by these negative assumptions. The negative beliefs are reinforced in many teachers at I.S. 55, because most students who come to I.S. 55 have already been told in elementary school that they are stupid, and the children act accordingly.

How could many children act otherwise, packed as they are in a building with bars on the windows; a building that is either too hot or too cold, that has no space in which they can use their energies in a constructive way more than once or twice a week. Many teachers' first impressions seem tobe of undisciplined, retarded and hostile students, (an attitude manifested by relatively few children). Treated by teachers in such a way as to confirm their initial impressions, the students seem to get worse and worse as the year goes on. Beliefs about the negative effects of poverty on poor children become a rationalization for failure, and give rise to the conviction that children are merely animals, a belief held by some teachers in Herndon's The Way It Spozed To Be. Now many teachers hold the more insidious view that most students at I.S. 55 are deprived by their poverty of the qualities necessary for success and therefore cannot be successful.

Over the past four years, in trying to improve teacher performance, we have achieved only partial success in changing the way teachers see their students. We began a major and expensive attack on this problem when we hired Caleb Gattegno in the spring of 1970 to work with our teachers. He has continued to work with us until the present.

Gattegno did much of the work on the use of Cuisinaire rods and has developed an approach to reading called "Words in Color," a method by which we have taught over 400 non-readers in the school how to read. Gattegno worked from 1929 to 1953 with Jean Piaget, the Swiss child psychologist whose work is the foundation of the approach taken in the English Infant Schools. Over the past two years, Gattegno has led those teachers who have worked with him to see that all children, whether poor or rich, bring with them to school great powers of the mind which they use to learn to speak. He has gotten our teachers to view these powers as a gift which can be used to get children to learn a great deal in a very short time. For example, by using the Cuisinaire Rods in the right way, children at age 6 can learn to solve algebraic equations like this:

$$(\tfrac{1}{2} \times 70) + (\tfrac{10}{3} \times 90) - (\tfrac{12}{3} \times \square) = 35$$

At P.S. 133 in the I.S. 201 complex in Harlem, where "Words In Color" had been used for several years, all second graders were reading an average of one year above grade level. In an experimental elementary school in Acton, Mass., using "Words In Color," a former teacher at I.S. 55 brought her whole first grade class to the point where they could decode anywhere from 10,000 to 50,000 English words in five months. At I.S. 55, W__, a non-reader whom two psychologists and several reading specialists had found so emotionally disturbed that they predicted he might never learn to read, is reading on the third grade level according to the Metropolitan Reading Test given in March of 1972. W__ made these gains working no more than an hour a day or reading for slightly less than two years.

Gattegno has only been partially successful however. Some teachers have listened to Gattegno, used his approach and them given it up because of its difficulty. In our mathematics department, the head of the department had used the Cuisinaire Rods for several years. When he left last year, only one or two teachers still continued to use the rods. Some teachers have found Gattegno an arrogant man who asks not for understanding but for religious belief. Needless to say, these teachers have not been converted.

Other teachers, a majority of the faculty, have not chosen to work with Gattegno at all. Except in the Language Arts Department, which has several experienced people who know about the functioning of children, I.S. 55 does not have enough people who know about children, and who are persuasive enough to effect any significant change in teachers' beliefs about their students.

I.S. 55 has had its advocates of black studies, of relevance, of the great untapped potential of children. But the truth has not been demonstrated by those who shout, "Look at me, I made it up from the streets, so can these kids." This rhetoric has not persuaded many teachers to look at the children who are their students in a way that will ultimately improve their education.

ENDNOTES

[1] Charles Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, New York: Random House, 1971, page 135.

[2] Silberman, page 447.

[3] John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," cited in Silberman, page 459.

[4] JHS 35 in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the Montgomery County, Maryland schools, the Acton, Massachusetts Schools, the Arlington, Virginia schools, and the Landon School in Bethesda, Maryland.

[5] From the diary of one of the authors.

[6] Silberman, page 83.

[7] One of the authors put on Marlow's "Faustus" for Halloween with his sixth graders during his first year at Landon. Bob McKewen had presented "Hamlet" with his fourth graders the year before. McKewen was an actor and had studied at Catholic University for years.

CHAPTER

IV

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

The administrative problems of schools in New York City are centered around finance, personnel, and management. Major problems which can be defined clearly are the complexity of managing a large organization with a miniscule administrative staff, lack of control of funds, lack of skilled personnel, and lack of freedom in hiring and firing personnel.

A. The Dimensions of the Problem of Managing

During each of the past four years, I.S. 55 has had a student body larger than that of Wesleyan University, Williams College, Amherst College, Hamilton College, Swarthmore College, Harverford College, and over 100 other colleges in the U.S. Yet fewer than 20 people, including secretaries, guidance counsellors, assistant principals, run I.S. 55. At colleges like Wesleyan, three to four times that number work exclusively on administrative tasks. With an administrative staff that is one-third the size of Wesleyan's, and with a student body that is not as self-disciplined as Wesleyan's because it is younger, there is no way to run I.S. 55 as efficiently as a college like Wesleyan.

The task of just organizing I.S. 55 so that each child in each class goes to the right subject class is enormous. I.S. 55 is divided into about 60 classes of approximately 28 children each and 4 or 5 special classes containing 15 to 20 children. Each of these classes must be given a unique schedule of 6 or 7 different subject classes, teachers, and rooms. The schedule at I.S. 55 is based on 20 minute modules of time. Classes meet from 40 to 80 minutes depending on the type of class. During the day, every 20 minutes, some children move from one class to another. Each class moves an average of 7 times a day from one part of the building to another.

The huge task of forming the organization must be done by one person and a volunteer committee of teachers and administrators. After the basic framework is determined it must be implemented and maintained by 8 people -- the 6 assistant principals, the programmer and the principal. Each of these people must daily devote a great deal of time and energy to the operational details necessary to keep the complex structure functioning. Teachers and students must be informed of any changes in the schedule. Substitutes or other teachers must be placed in the slots of absent teachers. Actions have to be taken to see that students in the wrong place see clearly that they have to be in the right place at the right time. The daily teacher absences and the failure of teachers to get to class on time, with the resulting disruption, produce daily problems that have to be dealt with.

Since so much of the principal's and assistant principal's time has to be devoted to these tasks, they have little time to devote to the improvement of instruction and other constructive tasks. In addition, breakdowns in the system occur frequently because of the lack of adequate personnel monitoring operational details; confusion and demoralization results.

During each of the past three school years, I.S. 55

has gotten off to a smooth start. Everyone has seemed happy about being in school. Every child has been enthusiastic about his classes. The fights, anger, and boredom that have filled the previous school year for many children seem to have vanished.

Then, during the first week in October, 10 to 15 teachers begin to stay out of school, usually on Mondays and Fridays. Why they do this is not clear. All claim to be sick. Many people at I.S. 55 suspect that the sickness is little more than the desire for a long weekend.

Whatever their reasons, the effect on the school is disastrous. With ten teachers absent, 300 children must be taught by substitutes or other teachers on the faculty at I.S. 55. In the schools that we are familiar with, most children 11 years and older do not respect and will not listen to a substitute. At I.S. 55, most students will not even stay in a class covered by a substitute because they have no reason to. Substitutes are not their regular teachers and do not teach them anything that they think is valuable. Thus, with 10 teachers absent, 300 children go essentially unsupervised through the entire school day. With 20 teachers absent, 600 children go unsupervised, and so on.

The hundreds of unsupervised children turn I.S. 55 into a playground. Though occasionally a fight will erupt, the most prevalent game is trying to avoid the assistant principals who try to get them back in their classes. By the middle of October, many halls take on an air of race tracks. Many of the teachers who take days off begin to have discipline problems in their classes. The children resent their regular teachers' being absent. Children stop working as hard for these teachers, and some begin to fool around in their classes.

The situation gets worse when many of the teachers who are having discipline problems give up. They begin to complain, sleep, and even play cards during their preparation periods. They stop planning for their classes and working to improve their teaching. They stay out of school as much as they can.

This process feeds upon itself. The more teachers who give up, the harder it becomes to maintain order. As more and more children turn the school into a playground, even more teachers give up. Teacher absence increases to around 25 teachers a day and pushes the school to the point where it can no longer function without covering hundreds of children in the auditorium.

Keeping the school running so that good teachers can teach requires a tremendous amount of the administration's time. Instead of being able to help teachers with their teaching and work on improving the education in the school assistant principals have to spend at least 80% of their time supervising one of the floors or the cafeteria. In the halls, the assistant principals watch for children wandering the halls or disrupting classes. Often an assistant principal will be seen with a line of 10 to 20 children, who have been caught misbehaving, following him toward his office. There, he will call or write their parents describing their particular mischief and explaining that if their misbehavior continues they will be suspended.

In addition to the assistant principals, two teachers, the dean and assistant dean, spend all of their time disciplining students. The deans take the names from teachers of students who get in fights, threaten other children, or raise hell in classes; and if warranted, they punish the offending students.

Two teacher aides and several teachers work two or three hours a week keeping accurate records on the number of times each child in the school cuts his classes. Teachers are assigned to patrol the halls to help the assistant principals.

This investment of time, energy, and manpower pays off by December when an equibrium is achieved. The cutting and fooling tapers off to a level that can be managed by people assigned to maintaining order. Teacher absenteeism though still extremely high begins to average 12 a day. In certain departments, coverages are arranged so that teachers are able to present something meaningful to the classes they cover, and the cutting of covered classes decreases.

The price the administration pays for the re-establishment of a modicum of order in the school is high, however. The administration is philosophically opposed to such measures as patrolling the halls and punishing students for having the courage to cut the classes of substitute teachers. Yet the the administration is forced by the sheer numbers of students and by the size of the building to penalize all children who do not behave in their classes or in the halls to insure the safety of everyone in the building.

Most of the people in the administration are far more interested in education than in policing the school. Yet the task of maintaining order leaves little time or energy for anything else. Only the principal, who has made time by the sheer force of his will, has been able to work effectively on improving the education in the school.

B. Lack of Control of Funds

Just as children's needs vary from child to child within a class, so school needs vary from school to school within a district or a school system depending upon the nature of the staff in each school, the leadership in each school, and the parent and student body in each school. The allocation, distribution, and actual spending of funds is an essential part of the implementation of any school program. Under current practices the principal of a given school has almost no power in determining the specific use of funds.

Trip costs, materials, and personnel lines are added to proposals (by district personnel) simply to satisfy some stipulated requirement of a non-school-based funding agency. Money needed for an item not deemed "needed" by the funding agency cannot be obtained.

Regular New York City and New York State funds are categorized so that flexibility in ordering materials is limited. Only certain materials can be ordered with certain funds regardless of whether those particular materials are needed or not.

As a result of policies determined by the Central Board of Educationa and the union, a principal cannot pay teachers according to the complexity of their job and the quality of their performance. Thus an incompetent teacher on the faculty can make more money than a teacher who works harder, longer, and more effectively. The pay policies of the Central Board support that trade union policy of seniority rather than the policy advocated by school reformers like Kenneth Clark of paying according to the quality of performance. Under the policy, good teachers who want to make the best money are forced to leave the classroom to become guidance counselors or administrators.

Frequent changes in policies and lack of advance information on funds and policies makes advance planning for maximum use of personnel almost impossible. At the beginning of the 1972-73 school year, the local board under order from the Central Board reduced the size of the faculty of I.S. 55 by 25 positions. This forced the people who had laboriously formulated a tentative program for the school over the course of three months in the spring to write an entirely new school program in four days, a nearly impossible task. Many improvements originally planned had to be abandoned.

The inefficient handling of money for paraprofessional salaries has also undermined the principal's ability to plan for the future. During the 1970-71 school year over twenty paraprofessionals were hired for I.S. 55. Most of these paraprofessionals were placed with teachers in the language arts department. After several weeks of training, they began to play an important role in the classes they had been assigned to. By the end of the 1970-71 school year, however, no word had come as to whether they would be rehired for the 1971-72 school year. The first two months of the 1971-72 school year passed and no paraprofessional had been rehired. Finally in the last part of November, two and a half months after the beginning of school, 7 paraprofessionals were rehired.

Sloppy handling of money by the Central Board and by the local school board has also made it hard for the principal to make the best use of consultants' services. Early in the 1971-72 school year, for example, the principal submitted a proposal to the local school board requesting $25,000 to rehire Caleb Gattegno as a consultant in reading and mathematics. Months passed and no word came from the local board. Finally in December, the money was approved. But it was not until February of 1972 that the principal got the go-ahead to spend the money with the stipulation that all the money be spent by the end of the 1972 school year. From March to June resources from Dr. Gattengno's office were poured into I.S. 55. In order to take full advantage of the seminars and training sessions teachers had to give up most of their weekends between March and June. Many did, but many who needed to work with Dr. Gattegno did not.

It is not so much an inadequacy of funds, but the inability of the local school to authorize their expenditure that causes most of the problems. More money won't solve the problems; more on-site control of the allocation and spending of funds will.

C. Lack of Trained, Skilled Applicants for Positions

Before someone becomes a doct. . he is required to practice the application of his knowledge under qualified supervision for an extended period of time. Therefore, when one pays for the services of a beginning doctor he can feel reasonably sure that he is receiving skilled assistance worth the money invested. In contrast, most beginning teachers know very little about how to teach. Most college education courses emphasize theory rather than practice teaching. The practice teaching that is required is usually of short duration, five or six hours a week for a semester. Generally student teachers learn very little because so little is expected of them and because, as one professor at Brooklyn College indicated to us, it is very hard to find valuable placements for students. There are only a small number of excellent teachers in New York City who can train student teachers. Consequently, new teachers have few if any skills when they are first hired. If a school expects good teaching, it must provide its own inservice education program. The most the school as an employer can look for in prospective applicants is the potential for growth. Rate of student growth is of course lowered by this situation.

D. Lack of Freedom to Select Personnel (Teachers, Administrators and Paraprofessionals) According to the Standards and Goals of the Organization

In most school systems that we know about outside of New York City, teachers are selected on the basis of an interview with the principal and often with the subject area supervisors. Though grades, courses taken, and experience are taken into account, the decision about whether a teacher is hired or not rests ultimately on the principal's and supervisor's opinion of that teacher. In New York City teachers must pass a series of tests and receive a license before they can be hired by a principal or a local school board.

The Board of Examiners was set up ostensibly to avoid basing hiring on subjective opinions and on political influence. But in attempting to avoid such matters, the Board has had to base its decisions on how much a teacher knows as defined by its own tests and on how well he speaks and organizes thoughts in front of a group. The characteristics we deem important for a teacher to have, such as courage, intelligence, sense of humor, high expectations, ability to communicate, creativity, and dedication, are not tested. Thus a teacher who prepares himself for the kind of tests the Board gives (by looking at old examinations) can obtain a license although he might have little chance of ever becoming a successful teacher.

The examination procedures of the Board of Examiners also favor people who live in New York City and have received their teacher training from people who know how to pass the Board's examinations. Until two years ago, it was nearly impossible for a person from outside of New York City to take the different parts of an exam let alone pass it unless he wanted to spend the money for three round trip tickets to New York plus accommodations and meals. For example, one of the authors of this study made three trips to New York in obtaining a substitute license; and once he had begun teaching, he had to make several more to the Board of Examiners' offices over the course of the next year to obtain his regular license. On the second trip he took an exam ostensibly designed to test his knowledge of English literature. The exam turned out to be far harder than the Graduate Record Exam in English because of the obscurity of its questions. Though he has scored in the 99th percentile of the general knowledge part of the Law Boards, he passed the Board of Education's exam by 2.4 points.

Under the new decentralization law, teachers can obtain a license by passing the National Teacher's Exam. Despite this superficial simplification, one of last year's student teachers from the University of Massachusetts who has chosen to teach at I.S. 55 during the 1972-73 school year has had to make three trips to New York in conjunction with her license. On the first day of school, she had no guarantee of a job.

The process of applying for the license, taking the tests and waiting for the results is obviously time consuming and frequently neither the school nor the person the school would like to hire can afford to lose that much time. The school has to fill the position and the person has to obtain a job and a steady income. As a result the competent person desired by the school seeks a job elsewhere and the school often has to choose someone who already has a license but does not have the desired qualifications to fill the position.

E. Lack of Power to Dismiss Personnel who are not Productive

Regulations covering firing a teacher for incompentency are impossibly complex. For example, let's take a typical case of a teacher in some inner city school in New York who is brought up on charges of incompetency. The teacher has taught in the New York City schools for several years and has been rated unsatisfactory before coming to the school where she now teaches. In order to prove this teacher's incompetency, the principal has to write several descriptions of this teacher's performance and make specific suggestions to her about how she can improve it. Then after showing the teacher each description and set of suggestions, he has to wait several weeks to see whether this teacher will put the suggestions into effect. Let's suppose at one point in this process, the teacher refuses to accept or even to look at one description. The principal puts this description along with a memo describing her refusal into the teacher's file. To have any legal validity, anything that goes into a teacher's file must be signed by that teacher. Let's suppose this teacher now refuses to sign the description, the set of suggestions, and the memo. All of these refusals are not witnessed by anyone. The principal's case rests in part on the fact that he has given the teacher specific suggestions on how to improve her teaching and has given her a chance to improve. Though he has indeed given this teacher countless suggestions and almost two years in which to put them into effect, the fact that some of the suggestions are unsigned undermines his case. Her insubordination, also grounds for dismissal, has no bearing on the case because no one has witnessed it. After several postponements requested by the teacher's lawyer, the case is dismissed. In one district we know of, it cost $6,000 and took two and one-half years to dismiss an incompetent teacher - and then that teacher could be hired in another district.

This kind of victory of incompetents can affect a school in several ways. Over 30 hours of the principal's valuable time can be lost. The teacher still occupies a teaching position that could be filled by someone else. And this teacher's victory gives any other incompetent teacher the feeling that he can even read the newspaper in class without being fired if he can draw out any incompetency proceeding long enough for the principal to make a mistake in procedure.

CHAPTER

V

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS

We feel that there are five major conclusions that one should draw from this study:

1. The public schools have failed to educate at least three-fourths of the children in Bedford-Stuyvesant to the extent that they can take a full and active role in society when they become adults.
2. This failure begins in elementary school usually in the first grade.
3. This failure has little to do with poverty and is caused by the schools' not providing the kinds of experiences that lead to every child's learning how to do such things as mathematics and reading rapidly and efficiently.
4. Not providing the kinds of experiences that lead to learning is due to ignorance of the intellectual powers all children have and of the ways in which learning can be fostered.
5. The schools can be improved by showing people, especially teachers and parents, how to provide experiences which foster learning.

That schools both in New York City and outside of New York do not provide the kinds of experiences which lead to learning, much other than providing masses of information, has been noted by various people in addition to the authors of this study. These critics have included John Holt, Lillian Weber, Charles Silberman, people associated with the Head Start program, and, most recently, the Fleischmann Commission's Report on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State.

The Head Start group observed in 1966, for example, that most of the gains achieved with Head Start children during an eight week program of sensory and language enrichment disappeared when the Head Start children entered the first grade. While in the Head Start program, children were encouraged to explore many concrete materials and received individualized and small group instruction. Much of the learning each child did was accomplished through his exploration of materials by himself and in small groups. According to the critics the typical elementary school classroom had few materials to explore, little or no individualized teaching, and almost no interaction at all.

Lillian Weber explained the problem in the following terms:

> The usual classroom has prescribed standards of accomplishment, a preplanned curriculum, almost total emphasis on verbal learning, limited environment, very little interrelating of one area of learning with another, very little small group instruction, and a widespread use of homogeneous grouping. The teacher's presentation rarely recognizes differing levels of development, accomplishment, motivation, pace or mode of learning. Failure for some is built into such a setting.

We found at I.S. 55 and at the schools that feed children into I.S. 55, that most teachers had failed to recognize three simple truths about children. First, all children who speak have great powers of the mind which they used to learn to speak. These powers are a gift which can be used by teachers to get children to learn how to read and how to do mathematics very rapidly. Second, all children are different. They have different likes and dislikes, different rates of development, different rates of learning. Third, children between the ages of 5 and 11 or 12 do not learn much in classes focused on a teacher passing out information and asking questions like "What is 9 x 7?" Rather, children learn over varying periods of time, in repeated encounters with concrete experiences and exchanges of differing points of view.

Without an awareness of these truths and having been filled with countless opinions about the limitations imposed by poverty in areas like Oceanhill-Brownsville, a syndrome that leads to mass failure has been set up. Unenlightened teachers, who already believe that poor children cannot learn as much as middle class children, teach in a way that ignores the truths about the ways in which all children really learn. As these teachers expect, masses of children fail to learn much of anything which inturn confirms their expectations.

Recommendations

In this study we have outlined many problems associated with education in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Our recommendations for long range educational programming are at two levels.

1. The most impact can be made by going to the heart of the educational problem and developing on-site classroom teacher training programs(s) which include parent education. Change will come about on a teacher by teacher, school by school basis.

2. Other programs should address themselves to the many specific needs of Bedford-Stuyvesant and children, such as more bi-lingual classes, more effective school health programs, smaller school size, teacher recruitment and housing, etc. But these problems, though serious, are not the major problem or fundamental need.

Programming at the First Level

We believe that public education in Bedford-Stuyvesant can be vastly improved if an attack is made on what we see as the major cause of the failure of elementary and junior high schools: the failure to provide children with learning experiences, teaching techniques and curriculum based on the natural way in which the child's mind functions.

Specifically, at this first level, we recommend on the basis of our conclusions that elementary and intermediate school learning environments be set up in which the learning of individual children is fostered to the fullest extent. In these learning environments children should receive individualized and small group instruction. They should be able to explore a great variety of concrete materials in an atmosphere of freedom and pleasure and responsibility. In these learning environments the emphasis should be on children learning rather than teachers teaching. Learning know-hows or skills like reading and mathematics should be emphasized over the assimilation of knowledge. The natural intellectual powers of children should be used to the fullest extent possible so that children can learn how to read and do mathematics as rapidly and as efficiently as possible. Making children at 11 years independent learners who can read with good understanding, write with fluency, and understand mathematical concepts including algebra, should be the goal of each school.

Though this kind of learning environment sounds utopian, it is not. Such learning environments already exist in some schools of New York City, in many public schools in North Dakota, and in the self-contained and language arts classes at I.S. 55.

Though this kind of learning environment sounds expensive, it is no more expensive than traditional classes are. Student-teacher ratios and expenditures for materials would remain unchanged. No masses of sophisticated pieces of audio-visual equipment would have to be purchased. Nor would a computer be necessary.

The only expense involved will be money spent on the re-education of teachers and administrators currently working in Bedford-Stuyvesant, and on restructuring the education of student teachers who will teach in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

At the same time parents need workshops, scheduled on a systematic basis, to understand the ways in which their children learn and what the schools must do to stimulate their children's learning. They need to understand the criteria for judging good educational methods and learning environments.

This initial expense for education would be large or small depending on how fast the restructuring of learning environments should take place. The expenditure of money would also be required for a limited period of time. Once a few teachers had learned how to set up the kind of learning environment described earlier and for the first time had a successful class, other teachers also wanting success would follow suit. Those who had decided to change would learn from their colleagues how to change, and so on. We believe that some principals will support the change to the new learning environments. Others will have to be persuaded. Parents educated about the ways in which their children learn will demand that schools set up the learning environments we propose.

These demands will support the first teachers who change, and will at last set up a meaningful system of accountability.

Proposals

We see two ways in which the learning environments we have described may be set up in the elementary and intermediate school classrooms of Bedford-Stuyvesant through the education of teachers, administrators, student teachers, and parents.

1. In a complex consisting of an existing intermediate school in Bedford-Stuyvesant and its feeder elementary schools, like I.S. 55 and P.S. 144 and 178, a funded team would work alongside teachers already in the schools, setting up new learning environments in classrooms and educating parents. This team would be composed of one full time parent educator and a half time assistant, three master teachers (one for each school), three trained paraprofessionals (one for each school), and several student teachers (for each school) committed to teaching in Bedford-Stuyvesant upon graduation. Each master teacher would have a class one half the day and would invite teachers and parents to observe his class. During the other half of

the day, each master teacher would hold seminars for teachers, student teachers, paraprofessionals, and administrators, on methods of setting up new learning environments. The parent educator would bring parents into the classes of the master teacher and arrange for the parents to attend seminars. The parent educator would also help the parents to organize an effective PTA and show them how they could support and play a role in the expansion of the new learning environments. At the end of two years, ten on-site teachers and a group of parents would be sufficiently trained to carry on the program within the complex on the schools' budgets. The team would then move to another complex.

Estimated Budget	Year 1	Year 2
Personnel		
Professional educator in one of the schools of the complex who acts as team coordinator and promotes public understanding of the project (part time)	$ 7,000	$ 7,000
Master teacher	14,000	14,840
Master teacher	14,000	14,840
Master teacher	14,000	14,840

Estimated Budget (Cont'd)	Year 1	Year 2
Paraprofessional	$ 7,000	$ 7,420
Paraprofessional	7,000	7,420
Paraprofessional	7,000	7,420
Parent educator	7,000	7,420
Parent educator, ½ time	3,500	3,710
	80,500	85,330
Fringe (15%)	12,075	12,800
	$92,575	$98,130

OTPS

Student teacher transp.	$ 1,200	$ 1,200
Learning materials	5,000	5,000
Mailing and other expenses	1,000	1,000
Evaluation (5%)	5,000	5,000
	12,200	12,200
TOTAL	$104,775	$110,330

Ultimate Source of Funding: Education Professions Development Act

2. Establish an independent alternative school in close proximity to and linked to an intermediate school and its feeders that would take a minimum of 50 children from the area and place them in new learning environments. Children who had brothers and sisters in the intermediate school and feeders would be selected. The staff of the alternative school would work with the teachers and administrators of the intermediate school and its feeders in the same manner as described in proposal 1. The idea

behind the establishment of the alternative school is to set up a learning environment parallel to the school system, working within the system and yet avoiding control by the system. By demonstrating success and by working with parents in the area, the regular public school could be forced to become more amenable to change as the alternative school demonstrated success.

Estimated Budget for the first year

Personnel

Director	$27,000
Executive secretary	7,800
Bookkeeper ½ time	5,000
Master teacher (reading)	14,000
Master teacher (math and science)	14,000
Teacher (music and art)	10,000
Paraprofessional	7,000
Paraprofessional	7,000
Paraprofessional	7,000
Parent educator	7,000
Parent educator ½ time	3,500
Maintenance man	7,000
	$116,300
Fringe (15%)	17,445
	$133,745

OTPS

Consultant services (workshops)	$ 400
Rent	25,000
Supplies	5,000
Equipment	8,000
Renovation of facility	30,000
Other expenses	5,000
	73,400
TOTAL FIRST YEAR	$207,145

Estimated budget for subsequent years

Personnel:	same as year one, plus cost of living increases	$145,000
OTPS:	eliminate renovation expense and equipment cost	35,400
	EST. ANNUAL EXPENSE	$180,400

Source of Funding

First year: seed money from private or public source

Subsequent years: the alternative school would be a five-year demonstration project. Funds would have to be sought from HEW's Office of Education, a private source, or some combination of public and private funding. At the end of five years, the school would continue under public auspices.

In order to give the effort to change the schools stability, direction and purpose, we recommend that a teacher training institute be created. The Institute would be affiliated with a university and would be made up of university teacher-trainers and the field-centered teacher-training teams uniting educational theory and practice. University credit would be arranged for student teacher participation. The Bedford-Stuyvesant Learning Institute would coordinate the teacher training effort, recruit teaching talent, interest the public in its efforts to re-educate, and continue to study the educational needs of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The Institute could be housed in one of the schools of the complex or in the alternative school. If housed in the alternative school, its expenses would be absorbed by the budget for #2. If housed in one of the schools of the complex, additional expense for a secretary, rental and support would be required.

Secretary-bookkeeper	$9,000
Fringe (15%)	1,350
Rental and support	3,105
ANNUALLY	$13,455

Before we submit the proposal in detail to HEW, we need to decide whether to push harder for proposal #1 or #2, depending upon how important independence from the local school board is deemed to be, and the funding realities.

Under the Education Professions Development Act, the recipient of the funding can be an urban school (with state and local educational agency approval and control), an institution of higher education, or an institution of higher education in conjunction with a non-profit entity. HEW will want to know who will see the training program through and who will be responsible for the proper spending of funds. We have made initial contacts with Medgar Evers and Brooklyn College; both have expressed interest in exploring a cooperative venture further.

Programming at the Second Level

At this level, we will suggest general program direction, leaving the development of specifics and proposed budgets until a mandate for program development is given.

A. Press city, state and federal educational agencies for:

   1. more bi-lingual classes in Spanish and French;

2. school health programs that are more fully funded, better staffed with trained personnel, and more carefully supervised;
3. more pre-school programs stressing individualized education for the 15,000 Bedford-Stuyvesant children presently not involved; special emphasis on pre-school programs for the mentally and physically handicapped;
4. more elementary and junior high classes for the physically and mentally handicapped;
5. more trained guidance personnel in junior high and high schools.

B. To counteract the high pupil turnover:

1. press for busing to preserve school stability;
2. help devise a more accurate method of evaluating student development, and have this evaluation follow the student, if he must transfer.

C. To overcome the problems caused by overlarge school enrollment:

1. suggest reorganization of the school into mini-schools and dividing the school day into modules;

2. recommend that no school with over 500 student capacity be built;
3. recommend that no new large housing project be implemented without also planning educational space.

D. To make up for inadequate guidance counseling, train Restoration Neighborhood Center staff persons to be liaison between school guidance counselors, educational resources and parents; develop an educational resource manual as a tool.

Restoration Neighborhood Center staff should act as ombudsmen for education, to get schools to give the services they are supposed to; to question whether a child should be in a CRMD class or not; to make parents aware of their rights.

E. To improve educational environment in the home and to supply for the lack of neighborhood bookstores, equip a mobile van with educational reading materials and games for sale, and have it staffed by parent education teams that can demonstrate how to use the materials.

F. To develop better ways of making educational diagnosis and pupil evaluation; work out a system with a team of educational consultants and a computer firm.

G. Form an educational task force, and, with the assistance of an educational consultant, make an on-going study of educational opportunities (such as educational TV) and learning problems; special attention should be given to educational financing to determine (a) whether monies for education are used in accordance with legislative purpose and (b) whether Bedford-Stuyvesant children receive their fair share of education funds. Propose remedies to currect inequities and inadequacies.

H. Publicize excessive teacher absenteeism; teacher incompetency; the practical inability to fire and hire teachers and administrators; the drawbacks of tenure and the seniority system; sloppy school funding allocation procedures which inhibit local school planning. Hopefully, these problems may be solved through public pressure for legislative change and in collective bargaining sessions.

I. Develop teacher recruitment program; provide housing for teachers recruited from out of town.

J. Attract a topflight adult basic education program to locate in the Sheffield Complex. The courses offered should include remedial reading and math, communications arts, high school equivalency and civil service preparation. Successful completion of the individualized training program would be best preparation for a job or further academic studies.

APPENDIX I

The Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 (Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act), sponsored by Senators Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) and Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) passed the Senate by a vote of 63 to 17 and the House by 210 to 186. The Act authorized $2 billion to be spent annually on comprehensive health, educational and nutritional services for children from birth through fourteen years of age, with priority being given to disadvantaged preschoolers.

The Office of Child Development of HEW was to coordinate the child development programs and distribute funds to all prime sponsors.

Any State, county, unit or combination of units of local government, or federally recognized Indian reservation could be authorized to serve as a prime sponsor, upon approval of application by the Secretary of HEW. States would serve as residual prime sponsors for areas where no other prime sponsor had been designated. States would also be provided the opportunity to review applications for designation as well as submit comments or recommendations to the Secretary.

Federal funds totalling $2 billion annually would cover 80% of program costs. These Federal funds would be made available through a two-step apportionment process. In the first step, the total Federal share would be divided among the fifty states; second, each state's allotment of Federal funds would be divided among eligible sponsors.

For both steps, the Secretary of HEW would use the following formula:

50% of the Federal share to be apportioned according to the ratio of economically disadvantaged children in the state (sponsor area) to the U.S. (state) total;

25% according to the ratio of the number of children through the age of five in the state (sponsor area) to the U.S. (state) total;

25% according to the ratio of the number of children of working mothers and single parents in the state (sponsor area) to the U.S. (state) total.

Services provided would include prenatal services, infant care, preschool programs, before and after-school programs for school age children, day and night care, nutritional services, family day care, activities and programs for handicapped children, and parent training programs. Priority would be given to children from families with an annual income below the lower living standard budget determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, currently $6,900 for an urban family of four. Sixty-five percent of all federal funds would be reserved to provide free services for children in this category.

Up to thirty-five percent of available funds could have been spent to include children whose families' income was above the lower living standard. Fees were to have been charged on a sliding scale, with priority given to children of working mothers and single parents. These fees would have been apportioned by the prime sponsor among the programs in its area, based on the same formula used to apportion federal monies.

Each prime sponsor was required to establish a Child Development Council, with at least one-third of its membership consisting of parents who were economically disadvantaged, one-half of the members elected representatives of Local Policy Councils, and the remaining members appointed by the Chief Executive Officer(s) of the prime sponsor, including at least one child development specialist.

Local Policy Councils composed of parents of eligible children were to be established for each sub-area within the prime sponsor's area. The Council was to be responsible for determining needs and priorities in its area and recommending applications for funding by the Child Development Council.

To research and develop effective child development programs and to assure that the result of these efforts were reflected in local programs, a National Center for Child Development was to have been established.

On December 9, 1971 President Nixon vetoed this Act, citing nine specific reasons for his action. First, "neither the immediate need nor the desirability of a national child development program of character has been demonstrated."

Advocates of the Act feel that the need has been demonstrated. Early childhood specialists such as Piaget, Bloom, Moore, Bruner, et al. have discovered that the first six years of life are critical for a child's physical, intellectual and psychological development. Not only is it more important that children in day care centers be provided with more than custodial care, but educational, health and nutritional programs must be available for all children, especially children from impoverished environments.

In light of this research it is tragic that almost half of the American working mothers with preschool children, an estimated 4.5 million mothers, are forced to use unlicensed day care services.

Early childhood experts Urie Bronfenbrenner and Jerome Bruner have noted that there are nearly six million preschoolers whose mothers are in the labor force. Of these, one million live in families below the poverty level, and an additional million children live in near poverty. Yet the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reports that there are fewer than 700,000 spaces in licensed day care centers, and an OEO study concluded that over 90% of all full-day centers are privately operated for profit with most offering the limited custodial programs "because that's all that most owrking mothers can afford."

There are also 2.5 million children under six whose mothers do not work, but where family income is below the poverty level. Head Start currently reaches fewer than 10% of these children.

Families living in or near poverty cannot afford the costs of adequate medical, nutritional and educational services for their children. The states have not taken the initiative, citing their inability to finance a massive child development program. Even New York City, which has the most extensive day care program in the country, must limit day care eligibility and services due to inadequate city and state financial resources. Thus, the only alternative is the Federal Government.

President Nixon also attempted to justify his veto in that "day care centers to provide for children of the poor so that their parents can leave the welfare rolls... are already provided for in H.R. 1, my work fair legislation. To some degree, child development centers are a duplication of these efforts."

The President's critics replied that existing services as well as those included in H.R. 1 would not reach hundreds of thousands of children needing special programs. The Act was designed to supplement and expand existing services rather than replace or duplicate them.

The President's third comment stated, "given the limited resources of the Federal budget, and the growing demands upon the Federal taxpayer, the expenditures of $2 billion in a program whose effectiveness has not yet been demonstrated cannot be justified. And the prospect of costs which could eventually reach $20 billion annually is even more unreasonable."

Many people maintain that this is not a valid reason when one considers the funds spent annually on defense, Vietnam, the space program, etc. The President and his supporters are accused of considering costs in terms of welfare rather than health and educational benefits for children. In addition, if the children's needs are ignored now, society will eventually pay when the children turn up as juvenile delinquents, mental retards, emotionally disturbed individuals, or drug addicts.

In February, 1969, the President expressed his commitment to providing child development services when he said: "So critical is the matter of early growth that we must make a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life." If this is to be achieved, the Administration must not permit costs to remain a major obstacle.

The Act has also been criticized as violating states' rights as well as creating a "new army of bureaucrats." However, a revised bill is being prepared (S. 3617, titled The Comprehensive Head Start, Child Development, and Family Services Act of 1972) that would give state governments greater control, based on the concept that the state is primarily responsible for public education.

The question of "who the qualified people are, and where they would come from, to staff the... centers" has also been raised. The answer lies with the parents, who, as members of the Councils and sponsoring boards, would be authorized to determine qualifications. Parents would be entitled to receive training and career ladder opportunities as paraprofessionals and teachers in the centers, based on the successful Head Start model. In addition, there is no lack of certified early childhood educators, especially in the major cities. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare estimates that 40,000 individuals, graduating from college each year with education degrees, are unable to find jobs in education.

To ensure sufficient time for planning and training, the revised Act would delay operations until FY 1974 while providing for training to begin in FY 1973.

The remaining three criticisms are concerned with the Act's approach to child care, which is condemned as weakening family ties, diminishing parental authority and involvement, and committing "the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child-rearing over against the family-centered approach."

This criticism is primarily leveled against day care, rather than part-day programs. Proponents of the Act have responded by noting that day-long care will only be offered to those families requiring such services, and in some cases, care will be provided in a home setting.

Although the ideal situation would be for mothers to care for their children at home, the reality of the situation is that for many this is impossible. Not only are a large number of impoverished parents unable to provide stimulating environments for their children, many parents simply lack acequate knowledge of child development. Harvard Psychologist Burton White charged that "the vast majority of educated women in this country don't know what the hell they are doing when they have a child. We just don't prepare our women, or our men, for parenting." Thus, a large number of programs have followed the lead of Head Start and concentrate on the parents as much as the children, proving that they can strengthen family ties. The knowledge mothers gain through their involvement with the center as committee or sponsoring board members, and from training programs and workshops often enables them to develop beneficial relationships with their children. Although the quantity of time families spend together may decrease, the quality of their relationship increases. Parents who abuse this opportunity are generally those who care little for their children now. Child development programs will enable these children to receive some of the care and affection they are not getting at home.

To safeguard against Federal indoctrination this Act included a provision preventing any department, agency or officer from supervision or control over personnel, curriculum or methods of instruction. Federal standards would have been developed by the Secretary and a committee consisting of parents and child development experts. These same provisions are included in the revised bill, which also stipulates that participation in the program is voluntary. This is in contrast to some provisions in H.R. 1, which require welfare mothers to place their children in centers in order to be free to work.

Early in this country's history, Americans rejected public education programs stating that such programs would strip parents of their authority and rights. However, it was soon realized that mass schooling was necessary not only to enable the country to progress, but to assist each individual with his or her development. Similarly, many people feel that it is only a matter of time until a comprehensive child development act is passed. The changing needs of our society as well as the growing evidence of children's needs will force its passage.

Despite the outcry against the President's veto, his criticisms did serve a purpose. The bill that is presently before the Senate is a modified and improved version of the vetoed Act. In addition to the revisions that have already been noted, other modifications include the following: priority is not placed on day care, but on building upon the successful aspects of Head Start. Funds are reserved to provide continuity between early childhood programs and those conducted by the Boards of Education, as well as other educational agencies. Also, not less than ten percent of the funds will be used for programs for handicapped children.

This bill authorizes the appropriation of $1.2 billion for FY 1974 and $1.6 billion for FY 1975. Federal funds will cover 90% of program costs. In addition, $150 million can be appropriated in FY 1973 for training, planning and technical assistance. No fees will be charged to families with an annual income equal to or below the poverty level ($4,320 for a family of four). A sliding fee scale will be established for families with an income above the poverty level. These fees will be used by the applicant to cover partial costs of the program.

Despite these changes, some Senators are critical of portions of the bill, and most likely numerous other revisions will be made prior to the bill's passage.

Should this bill become law, it has the potential of providing many needed services to Bedford-Stuyvesant. At the present time in Bedford-Stuyvesant, although 10,934 children under the age of six (including 10,792 preschoolers) are enrolled in some form of licensed day care, Head Start or Board of Education programs, 37,220 children under six (including 14,630 preschoolers) are not enrolled in any education program.

The city's Agency for Child Development, which was formed in anticipation of the Comprehensive Child Development Act, would serve as a prime sponsor should such an act be passed. Increased funding would enable the expansion of present programs, offer staff and parental training, and provide employment for mothers as aides, assistants and teachers in the programs.

The Act would provide for more comprehensive health care than is now being offered by ACD. Insurances could be made that not only would physical and psychological disorders be noted at an early age, but treated. Also, programs for handicapped children would be included. There are at least 1,050 "identified" mentally retarded children in Bedford-Stuyvesant and hundreds more of younger children not yet identified through enrollment in a preschool program. Dr. Jack Tobias of the Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Downstate Medical

Center, has noted that Bedford-Stuyvesant has the highest concentration of mentally retarded children in Brooklyn. Yet there are no preschool programs for them within the community, and transportation is a serious handicap to participation in the few programs that exist in the borough. Despite the Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation Services' willingness to work with ACD in providing services for retarded preschoolers, ACD has not yet made a commitment.

A broad approach to providing comprehensive health and educational services for all children, as well as parental education, will not be without its problems. The need for the public schools' curricula to build on the children's improved foundation for learning, as noted in the revised bill, must be satisfied. Studies have shown that failure to follow through on this has caused children to lose in elementary school most of the progress they have made in Head Start.

TABLE 1

READING SCORES[1] 1971[2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 2 MEAN	Grade 2 MEDIAN	Grade 4 MEAN	Grade 4 MEDIAN	Grade 6 MEAN	Grade 6 MEDIAN	Grade 8 MEAN	Grade 8 MEDIAN	% OF PUPIL IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL 1967	% OF PUPIL IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL 1971
										19	39.4
13	PS 3	2.9	2.6	4.1	3.8	-	-	-	-	34	28.1
	44	2.6	2.5	3.9	3.5	-	-	-	-	12	15.4
	54	2.5	2.3	3.5	3.2	-	-	-	-	14	28.0
	56	2.6	2.4	4.0	3.7	-	-	-	-	16	22.8
	93	2.5	2.5	3.6	3.3	-	-	-	-	18	18.4
	256	2.4	2.3	3.3	3.2	-	-	-	-	27	34.2
	270	2.6	2.5	4.2	3.9	-	-	-	-	27	26.6
	305	2.6	2.4	3.8	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	7.9
	IS 117	-	-	-	-	4.3	4.1	6.0	5.6	-	8.9
	258	-	-	-	-	4.6	4.4	6.0	5.6	17	21.1
14	PS 23	2.6	2.3	3.7	3.6	-	-	-	-	15	25.6
	59	2.6	2.5	4.0	3.9	-	-	-	-	29	24.5
	148	2.5	2.5	3.4	3.3	6.0	5.5	-	-	8	15.9
	157	2.6	2.5	3.1	2.8	-	-	-	-	20	34.0
	297	3.0	2.6	4.4	4.2	-	-	-	-		

TABLE I (Cont'd)[1,2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 2		Grade 4		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPIL IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL	
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	1967	1971
14	IS 33	-	-	-	-	4.4	4.3	5.6	5.3	-	5.0
16	PS 5	2.6	2.5	3.7	3.4	5.0	4.8	-	-	19	18.3
	21	2.5	2.3	3.8	3.4	5.8	5.3	-	-	41	22.7
	25	2.3	2.3	3.8	3.5	5.5	5.2	-	-	23	17.2
	26	2.4	2.3	3.1	2.9	4.6	4.6	-	-	18	11.8
	28	2.1	2.0	3.1	2.6	4.7	4.4	-	-	24	11.6
	40	2.9	2.8	4.1	3.6	5.9	5.8	-	-	13	35.0
	79	(a'x to P.S. 25)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No Data	
	81	2.8	2.4	3.7	3.4	4.9	4.5	-	-	17	24.3
	83	Spec. Ed.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No Data	
	129	2.4	2.4	3.7	3.5	5.3	5.3	-	-	12	20.1
	243	2.5	2.3	4.0	3.5	-	-	-	-	29	27.9
	262	2.7	2.5	4.5	4.1	-	-	-	-	31	38.1
	304	2.4	2.3	3.5	3.2	4.8	4.5	-	-	11	18.2
	309	3.4	2.3	3.3	3.1	4.8	4.6	-	-	12	15.9

TABLE I (Cont'd)[1,2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 2		Grade 4		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL	
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	1967	1971
16	PS 335	3.1	2.7	5.1	4.6	-	-	-	-	-	41.5
	IS 35	-	-	-	-	5.8	5.5	7.5	7.1	-	22.0
	J 57	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.1	5.7	-	12.4
17	PS 42	(a'x to PS 316)		-	-	-	-	-	-	No Data	
	138	2.7	2.5	4.0	3.8	-	-	-	-	25	26.5
	167	2.7	2.6	5.6	5.0	-	-	-	-	18	44.6
	191	2.3	2.3	3.7	3.4	-	-	-	-	25	20.6
	289	2.6	2.3	4.0	3.5	-	-	-	-	26	25.9
	316	3.0	2.6	4.5	4.2	-	-	-	-	42	36.4
	IS 210	-	-	-	-	4.5	4.2	6.0	5.8	-	8.6
23	PS 73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.4
	87	2.5	2.2	3.0	2.9	-	-	-	-	-	16.1
	137	2.3	2.3	3.4	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	15.4
	144	2.9	2.6	3.5	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	24.5
	155	2.6	2.5	3.0	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	12.8

TABLE 1 (Cont'd)[1,2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 2 MEAN	Grade 2 MEDIAN	Grade 4 MEAN	Grade 4 MEDIAN	Grade 6 MEAN	Grade 6 MEDIAN	Grade 8 MEAN	Grade 8 MEDIAN	% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL 1967	% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL READING ON OR ABOVE LEVEL 1971
23	PS 178	2.1	1.9	3.8	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	13.6
	IS 55	-	-	-	-	6.0	5.6	6.1	5.7	-	13.8
	271	-	-	-	-	4.2	3.8	5.4	4.8	-	5.5

1. Mean is the average score.

   Median is the point midway in the range of class scores, so that half the class is below the median and half are above.

   The national norms for both mean and median are: 2.7 for grades 2, 4.7 for grade 4, 6.7 for grade 6, and 8.7 for grade 8. The Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) was given in April, the 7th month of the school year. Thus a child in the second grade, measured by the national norm, should be reading 2.7, that is, second grade level, at the seventh month (2.7).

2. Data was furnished by the Bureau of Educational Research, New York City Board of Education.

TABLE II

MATH SCORES[1] 1971[2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 3		Grade 5		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL DOING MATH ON OR ABOVE LEVEL '71
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	
13	PS 3	3.3	3.1	4.4	4.2	-	-	-	-	21.5
	44	2.8	2.5	4.9	4.7	-	-	-	-	23.1
	54	2.7	2.5	3.6	3.3	-	-	-	-	11.0
	56	2.8	2.5	4.1	3.8	-	-	-	-	16.9
	93	3.4	3.1	4.7	4.9	-	-	-	-	30.5
	256	2.7	2.5	4.2	3.8	-	-	-	-	18.9
	270	3.5	3.1	4.8	4.8	-	-	-	-	33.3
	305	2.8	2.5	4.9	4.7	-	-	-	-	26.5
	IS 117	-	-	-	-	5.1	4.9	7.0	6.8	15.9
	258	-	-	-	-	4.8	4.6	6.5	6.4	9.7
14	PS 23	3.4	3.1	4.2	4.0	-	-	-	-	28.7
	59	2.8	2.7	4.4	3.9	-	-	-	-	17.7
	148	3.3	3.0	4.3	3.9	5.5	4.8	-	-	25.3
	157	2.5	2.4	4.1	4.1	-	-	-	-	10.5
	297	3.2	3.0	4.9	4.9	-	-	-	-	32.5

TABLE II (Cont'd)[1,2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 3		Grade 5		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL DOING MATH ON OR ABOVE LEVEL '71
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	
14	IS 33	-	-	-	-	4.7	4.7	5.7	5.6	4.4
16	PS 5	2.4	2.4	4.7	4.5	5.4	4.8	-	-	17.8
	21	2.6	2.5	4.9	4.7	6.1	5.4	-	-	22.0
	25	2.6	2.5	3.6	3.4	5.1	4.8	-	-	12.0
	26	2.7	2.5	3.8	3.7	4.8	4.7	-	-	9.4
	28	2.9	2.8	4.5	4.0	5.3	5.1	-	-	18.4
	40	3.3	3.0	5.2	4.9	5.9	5.6	-	-	32.2
	79	(a'x to P.S. 25)		-	-	-	-	-	-	
	81	3.4	3.1	5.0	4.9	5.2	4.9	-	-	30.1
	83	(Spec. Ed.)		-	-	-	-	-	-	
	129	2.7	2.6	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.6	-	-	23.9
	243	3.0	2.8	5.3	4.8	-	-	-	-	29.2
	262	3.1	2.9	5.5	5.6	-	-	-	-	38.0
	304	2.6	2.5	4.3	4.1	5.0	4.6	-	-	15.4
	309	2.8	2.6	4.1	3.7	5.4	4.9	-	-	17.7

TABLE II (Cont'd)

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BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 3		Grade 5		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL DOING MATH ON OR ABOVE LEVEL '71
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	
16	PS 335	3.2	3.1	4.6	4.2	-	-	-	-	27.7
	IS 35	-	-	-	-	5.6	5.3	6.8	6.4	20.4
	J 57	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	5.4	3.6
17	PS 42	(A x to P.S. 316)		-	-	-	-	-	-	
	138	3.0	2.7	5.1	5.2	-	-	-	-	27.3
	167	3.1	2.9	4.9	4.7	-	-	-	-	27.5
	191	2.8	2.5	4.4	3.9	-	-	-	-	19.5
	289	3.0	2.7	3.8	3.7	-	-	-	-	14.6
	316	3.2	3.0	4.9	4.8	-	-	-	-	27.5
	IS 210	-	-	-	-	4.5	4.4	5.7	5.4	6.3
23	PS 73	2.7	2.4	4.1	4.1	-	-	-	-	15.2
	87	2.5	2.4	4.0	3.9	-	-	-	-	8.8
	137	2.8	2.6	3.5	3.3	-	-	-	-	8.9
	144	2.9	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.9
	155	2.7	2.5	3.8	3.6	-	-	-	-	12.0

TABLE II (Cont'd)[1,2]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 3		Grade 5		Grade 6		Grade 8		% OF PUPILS IN SCHOOL DOING MATH ON OR ABOVE LEVEL '71
		MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MEAN	MEDIAN	
23	PS 178	2.5	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5
	IS 55	-	-	4.1	4.0	4.7	4.5	5.2	4.9	5.8
	271	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

1. For an explanation of mean, median and national norms, see notes at the end of Table I. The national math norms for both mean and median are 3.5 for grade 3, 5.5 for grade 5, 6.5 for grade 6, and 8.5 for grade 8.

2. Data was furnished by the Bureau of Educational Research, New York City Board of Education.

TABLE III

CITYWIDE MEDIAN GRADE EQUIVALENT READING ACHIEVEMENT SCORES METROPOLITAN READING ACHIEVEMENT TESTS, APRIL, 1971[1]

GRADE	NUMBER TESTED	NATIONAL NORM MEAN & MEDIAN	READING SCORE CITY MEDIAN	NORM-CITY DIFFERENTIAL	1970 READING SCORE CITY MEDIAN[2]
2	79,283	2.7	2.5	-.2	2.7
3	78,077	3.7	3.1	-.6	3.4
4	78,166	4.7	3.8	-.9	4.2
5	74,181	5.7	4.8	-.9	5.1
6	70,089	6.7	5.8	-.9	5.5
7	65,165	7.7	5.9	-1.8	6.4
8	65,272	8.7	7.1	-1.6	7.6
9	71,282	9.7	8.3	-1.4	9.0

1. Summary of Citywide Reading Test Results for 1970-71, Bureau of Educational Research, Board of Education, City of New York.

2. April '71 test was a new edition given for the first time to New York City pupils. The older edition had been normed in 1958.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS 1971[5]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade Org.	Ethnic Composition Oct. 31, 1970 (%)			Average Daily Register	Students Added to Original Register	Students Discharged from Orig. Register	Teachers mean absence rate %	Teachers with 5 Years Exp (%)	Average Class Size[1]	Teacher Pupil Ratio	Number of Special Classes[2]	Percent Eligible for Free Lunch[3]	Bldg. Utilization (%)	Expenditures Per Pupil[4]
			PR	N	O											
13	PS 3	PK-5	1.0	98.4	.6	850	359	284	6.2	56	23.8	1:18.6	2	42.0	77	$ 770
	44	PK-5	.4	99.4	.2	1,168	463	257	7.0	64	27.3	1:21.2	2	72.9	93	591
	54	K-5	33.2	64.6	2.2	1,125	553	371	6.9	52	24.1	1:20.8	1	86.3	96	613
	56	PK-5	6.9	92.1	1.0	1,225	538	309	6.7	45	26.9	1:24.0	1	82.3	96	536
	93	PK-5	.3	99.2	.5	862	347	225	7.3	46	25.8	1:19.8	4	100.0	93	621
	256	PK-5	17.1	81.6	1.3	1,109	452	353	8.1	55	26.0	1:21.2	4	81.7	85	581
	270	PK-5	19.2	77.8	3.0	875	308	161	6.8	59	24.9	1:19.7	4	72.0	88	609
	305	PK-5	.1	99.5	.4	1,097	422	257	7.7	48	27.6	1:20.7	6	84.4	91	611
	IS 117	6-8	34.6	61.7	3.7	1,388	296	439	7.4	64	28.4	1:14.6	4	94.5	115	980
	258	6-8	1.2	98.1	.7	1,637	358	448	6.5	47	26.9	1:16.8	1	90.0	107	871
14	PS 23	PK-5	39.5	59.3	1.2	1,097	420	261	7.6	72	26.8	1:22.4		86.0	85	578
	59	PK-5	40.1	59.0	.9	1,141	305	142	6.5	60	27.1	1:20.6		65.5	91	589
	148	PK-6	53.0	45.3	1.7	941	260	172	5.8	68	26.6	1:19.6	2	69.4	91	628
	157	PK-5	59.2	32.4	8.4	1,133	488	331	8.5	39	25.5	1:22.8		37.0	89	560
	297	PK-5	34.0	65.2	.8	1,026	299	164	7.1	65	27.2	1:21.2	3	67.9	87	611

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BKLYN DIST.	SCHOOL	Grade Org.	Ethnic Composition Oct. 31, 1975 (%) PR	N	O	Average Daily Register	Students added to original Register	Students discharged from Orig. Register	Teacher mean absence rate (%)	Reading [illegible] (%)	Average Class Size[1]	Teacher Pupil Ratio	Number of Special Classes[2]	Percent Eligible for Free Lunch[3]	Bldg. Utilization (%)	Expenditures Per Pupil[4]
14	IS 33	7-8	39.2	60.1	.7	2,051	389	533	6.3	52	27.4	1:15.4	2	85.0	102	$893
16	PS 5	K-6	3.7	95.7	1.6	1,457	558	332	6.8	44	38.6	1:21.9		86.3	110	554
	21	PK-6	4.2	95.3	.5	458	285	161	5.9	45	28.5	1:19.6	5	93.3	98	604
	25	PK-3, 5-6	21.5	77.5	1.0	1,729	641	450	6.5	52	28.0	1:21.4	4	69.4	78	633
	26	PK-6	22.9	76.4	1.7	1,406	473	303	7.4	44	27.9	1:19.6	2	60.0	94	547
	28	PK-6	3.8	96.0	.2	1,185	515	337	8.1	61	26.8	1:19.9	2	96.7	85	599
	40	PK-6	6.2	92.4	1.9	1,308	521	247	6.8	52	26.5	1:26.3	3	86.6	101	601
	79	(Ax to PS-25) 3-4													99	
	81	PK-6	43.0	55.4	1.6	1,739	576	369	9.2	38	26.7	1:21.7		87.0	141	588
	83	SPEC. ED.	19.8	78.6	1.6	124	62	13	11.0	74	6.9	1:5.0	1	100.0		2,098
	129	PK-6	.9	98.6	1.5	1,147	406	261	7.9	57	26.9	1:23.1	2	93.9	88	600
	243	PK-5	3.7	96.1	.2	1,272	405	210	7.2	58	28.4	1:19.0	1	84.5	90	572
	262	PK-5	.6	99.3	.1	1,179	405	303	9.5	60	27.4	1:23.1		75.2	101	617
	304	PK-6	41.4	58.1	.5	1,256	568	276	7.2	67	28.1	1:20.2		89.2	101	552
	309	PK-6	9.1	89.8	1.1	1,374	507	290	8.1	48	29.5	1:21.0	2	71.9	106	539

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BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade Org.	Ethnic Composition Oct. 31, 1970 (%)			Average Daily Register	Students Added to Original Register	Students Discharged from Orig. Register	Teacher [illegible] rate(%)	Teachers with 5+ Years [illegible]	Average Class Size¹	[illegible] Pupil Ratio	Number of Special Classes²	Percent Eligible for Free Lunch³	Bldg. Utilization (%)	Expenditures Per Pupil⁴
			PK	N	O											
16	PS 335	PK-5	8.2	90.6	1.2	1,314	470	358	6.5	53	38.1	1:19.9	10	93.0	91	$603
	IS 35	6-8	1.6	97.9	1.5	1,727	372	302	7.0	26	32.5	1:14.8	4	88.1	141	866
	J 57	7-9	21.2	78.2	1.6	2,099	449	613	6.4	33	30.1	1:19.0	1	(Split Session) 14.7	167	790
17	PS 42	(A'x to PS 316) EXPER. EL PK, 4-5													67	
	138	MES PK-5	3.9	92.1	4.0	1,518	593	315	6.5	66	20.0	1:18.9	4	66.9	99	582
	167	K-5	19.3	68.5	12.2	1,668	711	377	4.5	50	31.4	1:23.6		43.1	101	568
	191	K-5	17.9	79.6	2.5	1,446	597	370	8.0	66	29.1	1:21.6	1	59.6	117	571
	289	K-5	1.7	97.2	1.1	1,311	489	215	6.7	60	30.5	1:23.7		40.7	98	573
	316	K-3	17.8	76.0	6.2	1,909	712	421	5.9	46	28.9	1:17.0	7	57.7	98	511
	IS 210	6-8	7.4	89.6	3.0	1,306	322	431	7.1	47	25.7	1:13.6	2	70.0	100	953
23	PS 73	K-5	18.4	80.7	2.9	1,183	491	319		24	26.6	1:22.5		72.4	98	517
	87	K-5	12.1	87.9	-	423	236	169	5.8	26	25.9	1:23.9		79.6	77	573
	137	K-5	10.6	87.3	2.1	738	265	166	9.0	31	25.9	1:20.0		94.7	95	581
	144	PK-4	17.9	81.5	.6	917	548	509	7.9	34	22.4	1:18.5	5	83.1	67	624
	155	K-5	37.1	58.4	4.5	1,168	570	295	7.0	45	27.9	1:19.2	2	80.2	102	605

TABLE IV (C .t'd)[5]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade Org.	Ethnic Composition Oct. 31, 1970 (%) PR	N	O	Average Daily Register	Students Added to Original Register	Students Discharged from Orig. Register	Teacher mean absence Rate (%)	Teachers With 5+ Years Exp. (%)	Average Class Size[1]	Teacher Pupil ratio	Number of Special classes[2]	Percent Eligible for Free Lunch[3]	Bldg. Utilization (%)	Expenditures Per Pupil[4]
23	PS 178	K-4	5.0	94.4	.6	915	315	386	4.6	36	25.6	1:25.0	1	100.0	61	$592
	IS 55	5-8	14.4	84.8	.8	1,902	498	642	5.5	32	28.9	1:16.0	1	84.8	99	843
	271	6-8	9.5	90.0	.5	1,704	531	811	4.2	26	29.8	1:16.2	2	100.0	108	901

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1. Average class size excludes pre-K and special classes.
2. Includes classes for mentally handicapped, health conservation, intellectually gifted, guidance, non-English.
3. Pupils eligible for free lunch voluntarily sign up, so this is not a maximum figure. Eligibility means that the net family income for a family of four is below $85 per week, or the family is receiving Aid for Dependent Children, or eligible for food stamps.
4. Expenditures represent salaries for teachers, paraprofessionals, guidance counselors, other instructional personnel and secretaries, plus textbooks, supplies and other learning equipment. Maintenance is not included. Expenditures represent tax levy funds only. Title I funds and State Urban Education monies are not included.
5. Information obtained from New York City Board of Education, Office of Planning-Programming-Budgeting, Bureau of Educational Research, Office of Personnel; also New York City School Fact Book, Institute for Community Studies, Queens College City University of New York, Frances Gottfried, Project Director, Second Edition, 1972.

TABLE
COMPARATIVE READING AND MATH SCORES[1]
CHANGES OF PRINCIPAL
TEACHER TOTALS

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 5 Reading			Percent of 5th Grade Reading on/above level		Percent of 1971 5th Graders				Grade 6 Math Mean Score		Changes of Principal			Total Number of Teachers	
		MEAN 1968[2]	MEAN 1971[3]	MEDIAN 1971[4]	1968	1971	Tested	Excluded[5]	Absent		1967[6]	1971[7]	1967	1971		1967-68	1970-71
13	PS 3	4.6	5.1	4.1	20	33.3	84.5	5.8	9.7				WAR-HOFTIG	VOLLINS		58	55
	44	5.2	4.4	4.3	28	24.0	97.4	0	2.6				STADLEN	SUNDICK		63	58
	54	4.0	4.0	3.7	6	9.7	81.5	1.7	16.8		4.5		SIEGEL	STERN		62	63
	56	4.5	5.1	4.5	17	33.8	89.0	0	11.0				LEVINSON	Smither		61	62
	93	4.8	4.3	4.1	20	11.7	94.5	0	5.5				NISLOW	HARSTON		48	47
	256	4.7	4.7	4.4	16	15.5	91.5	.7	7.8				COOPER	ADAMS		68	59
	270	5.1	4.8	4.4	29	26.3	92.5	0	7.5				COWAN	JAMES		50	48
	305	5.4	4.7	4.3	33	29.7	94.5	.7	4.8				ALTMAN	Williams		63	61
	IS 117										4.5	5.1	O'Conner	Risen		101	100
	258										4.4	4.8	McAssey	—		99	110
14	PS 23	4.1	4.3	4.4		17.5	91.3	4.7	4.0		4.5		Kessler	Powers		74	56
	59	4.6	4.5	3.9	20	19.0	91.6	.6	7.8				Rauch	Fasner		64	62
	148	4.5	4.7	4.1	19	26.9	82.1	6.3	11.6			5.5	Neid-Erman	—		52	37
	157	4.7	3.7	3.5	19	8.1	91.4	2.5	6.1				Holder	Gottlieb		67	56
	297	4.6	4.6	4.4	18	17.0	87.2	.7	12.1				Kirschner	—		63	54

TABLE V (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 5 Reading			Percent of 5th Grade Reading at/above level		Percent of 1971 5th Graders —				Grade 6 Math Mean Score		Changes of Principal			Total Number of Teachers	
		Mean 1968[2]	Mean 1971[3]	Median 1971[4]	1968	1971	Tested	[illegible]	Absent		1967	1967[7]	1967	1971		1967-68	1970-71
14	IS 33										4.2	4.7	Klevorick	Huntley		123	145
16	PS 5	4.7	4.1	3.7	20	16.7	92.3	.5	7.2		4.7	5.4	Goodman	Kaplan		81	66
	21	4.9	4.6	3.8	24	30.3	78.4	0	21.6		4.2	6.1	Percell	Sanford		46	54
	25	4.0	3.9	3.4	7	13.5	92.3	.1	7.6		4.7	5.1	Levison	Murphy		91	82
	26	5.4	3.8	3.5	31	6.8	83.4	.5	16.1		4.2	4.8	Debin	Niemar		65	70
	28	4.3	4.0	3.5	14	17.0	84.9	0	15.1		4.6	5.3	Finkelstein	Wolkoff		78	59
	40	4.7	5.0	4.9	19	32.6	81.1	3.8	15.1		4.7	5.9	Toporoff	Feidman		68	66
	79	(KA's To PS-25)															
	81	4.2	4.5	4.3	17	16.3	86.0	6.8	7.2		4.5	5.2	Feinman	Weidee		78	83
	83	SPEC ED.)														37	26
	129	4.4	4.4	4.4	14	19.5	83.1	0	16.9		4.4	5.8	Ullman	Berkin		64	59
	243	5.2	5.4	5.0	30	39.9	94.4	5.6	0				Goldin	—		69	69
	262	5.6	5.3	5.3	35	43.4	91.6	0	8.4				Schreiber	Maegde		56	58
	304	3.9	3.9	3.4	7	18.6	92.1	2.9	5.0		4.5	5.0	Malamicont	—		78	62
	309	4.3	3.9	3.3	13	18.3	96.2	1.3	2.5		4.3	5.4	Ellenberg	Williams		65	68

TABLE V (cont'd)

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 5 Reading[1]			Percent of 5th Grade Reading on/above grade		Percent of 1971 5th Graders —				Grade 6 Math. Mean Score		Changes of Principals			Total Number of Teachers	
		Mean 1967[2]	Mean 1971[3]	Median 1971[4]	1967	1971	Tested	Excluded[5]	Absent		1967[6]	1971[7]	1967	1971		1967-68	1970-71
16	PS 335		5.2	4.6		29.7	92.7	0	7.3					Finkel-stein		-	78
	IS 35										4.6	5.6	DEMBO	-		98	125
	J 57												Schwartz	Roach		88	130
17	PS 42	(CA's to PS-316)															
	138	4.9	4.7	4.5	26	21.4	87.1	6.2	6.7		4.8		Lorentz	Marcus		116	111
	167	4.6	6.2	5.7	17	50.7	79.1	7.5	13.4				Wein-gart	—		78	79
	191	5.2	4.9	4.6	28	27.3	80.9	5.4	13.7				Ludwig	Fichten-baum		83	67
	289	4.9	3.9	3.5	28	11.6	90.6	0	9.4				Messen-ger	Samuel		62	57
	316	5.6	4.7	4.3	46	31.0	93.2	3.6	3.2				Weiss	—		69	131
	IS 210										4.4	4.5	Murphy	Lettey		91	95
23	PS 73		3.9	3.5		10.9	92.6	4.0	3.4		4.8		Grandi-netti	—		59	55
	87	4.3	4.2	3.5	10	26.2	68.9	3.3	27.8		4.8		Mand-Racchia	Clement		24	20
	137	4.3	3.9	3.9	7	10.8	92.5	2.5	5.0		4.8		James	—		37	42
	144	4.0			5								Rogers	—		101	63
	155		3.1	3.0		4.0	84.8	3.9	11.3		4.5		Fuentes	—		-	67

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TABLE V (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Grade 5 Reading			Percent of 5th Grade Reading on/above level		Percent of 1971 5th Graders				Grade 6 Math Mean Score		Changes of Principal			Total Number of Teachers	
		MEAN 1968[2]	MEAN 1971[3]	MEDIAN 1971[4]	1968	1971	Tested	Excluded[5]	Absent		1967[6]	1971[7]	1967	1971		1967-68	1970-71
23	PS 178												LEE	CLARK		78	45
	IS 55											4.7	—	Jenkins		-	157
	271												Harris	Fitz-gerald		129	126
																3,105T	3,348T

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1. Data obtained from Summary of Citywide Reading Test Results for 1970-71, Bureau of Educational Research, Board of Education, City of New York; New York Times, Feb. 27, 1972, Oct. 24, 1971; New York City School Fact Book, Prepared by the Research Staff of the Institute for Community Studies, Queens College, Marilyn Gittell, Director, 1969; Second Edition 1972, Frances Gottfried, Project Director.
2. National Norm: 5.7.
3. National Norm, mean and median: 5.7.
4. 1971 Citywide Median for Fifth Grade: 4.8.
5. Pupils are excluded who have little or no familiarity with English language, on a teacher-rated basis.
6. National Norm: 6.4.
7. National Norm: 6.5.

TABLE VI
COMPARATIVE SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Student Ethnic Composition						Pupil Register June 30,		Pupil Attendance Rate (%)		Average Class Size		No. Special Classes		Teacher-Pupil Ratio 1: —		No. Cert. Teachers [illegible] years [illegible]		Expenditure Per Pupil[2]	
		PR		N		O															
		1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1968	1971	1967-68	1970-71	1967-1968	1970-1971	1967-1968	1970-1971	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71
13	PS 3	4.5	1.0	94.5	98.4	.9	.6	830	822	84	85	22	24	8	2	14.5	18.6	86	56	$1,081	$770
	44	1.1	.4	98.8	99.4	.0	.2	1,217	1,172	84	86	21	27	8	2	20.1	21.2	67	64	690	591
	54	35.5	33.2	62.1	64.6	2.3	2.2	1,175	1,214	83	84	23	24	1	1	19.2	20.8	47	52	799	613
	56	5.5	6.9	93.6	92.1	.8	1.0	1,093	1,230	81	84	23	27	3	1	18.5	24.0	19	45	694	536
	93	1.3	.3	97.9	99.2	.6	.5	920	864	83	86	23	26	13	4	19.6	19.8	82	46	876	621
	256	18.7	17.1	79.8	81.6	1.3	1.3	1,128	1,080	81	86	21	25	3	4	17.0	21.2	54	55	867	581
	270	25.6	19.2	69.6	77.8	4.7	3.0	896	892	84	88	22	25	4	4	18.6	19.7	51	59	754	609
	305	1.9	.1	96.5	99.5	1.5	.4	1,180	1,091	84	86	24	28	6	6	19.8	20.7	49	48	579	611
	IS 117	31.7	34.6	63.0	61.7	5.2	3.7	1,611	1,348	73	80	27	28	5	4	16.3	14.6	73	64	852	980
	258	11.8	1.2	87.3	98.1	.7	.7	1,532	1,626	76	79	29	27	3	1	16.6	16.8	85	47	854	871
14	PS 23	41.1	39.5	55.9	59.3	2.9	1.2	1,322	1,088	82	85	22	27	1		18.2	22.4	21	72	709	578
	59	34.0	40.1	61.7	59.0	4.7	.9	1,164	1,160	88	90	22	27			18.6	20.6	25	60	911	559
	148	46.3	53.0	51.1	45.3	2.4	1.7	851	947	82	86	27	27	4	2	16.3	19.6	48	68	753	628
	157	58.3	59.2	33.8	33.4	7.8	8.4	1,098	1,124	80	85	23	26	3		16.9	22.8	40	39	761	560
	297	34.6	34.0	63.6	62.2	1.6	.8	1,077	1,001	83	86	21	27	3	3	17.4	21.2	37	65	928	611

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TABLE VI (cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Student Ethnic Composition PR		N		O		Pupil Register June 30		Pupil Attendance Rate (%)		Average Class Size		No. Special Classes		Teacher-Pupil Ratio 1:—		Percent Teachers ([illegible]) with 3+ Yrs Experience		Expenditures Per Pupil $	
		1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1968	1971	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1967-68	1970	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14	IS 33	77.3	39.2	22.1	60.1	.4	.7	1,17[illegible]	[illegible]	80	80	25	27	2	2	15.0	15.4	82	53	$928	$892
16	PS 5	10.4	3.7	89.1	95.7	.3	1.6	1,543	1,469	81	86	29	29	4		19.1	21.9	17	44	645	554
	21	13.0	4.2	86.5	95.3	.4	.5	801	944	85	85	24	29	8	5	18.7	19.6	73	45	809	604
	25	19.0	21.5	79.8	77.5	1.1	1.0	1,818	1,687	80	82	23	28	7	4	15.6	21.4	41	52	840	633
	26	25.1	22.9	71.7	76.4	3.1	1.7	1,322	1,400	81	82	42	28	2	2	20.5	19.6	45	44	613	547
	28	4.9	3.8	93.9	96.0	1.0	.2	1,367	1,197	77	81	23	27	2	2	20.3	19.9	51	61	667	599
	40	7.7	6.2	90.9	92.9	1.2	1.9	1,295	1,313	84	86	23	27	7	3	19.7	20.3	42	52	693	601
	79	(A's to PS-25)																			
	81	38.4	43.0	60.0	55.4	1.5	1.6	1,592	1,723	83	84	23	27			20.8	21.7	30	38	642	588
	83	8.6	19.8	88.3	78.6	3.0	1.6	58	128	76	80	23	7		1	19.4	5.0	17	74	678	2,098
	129	8.3	.9	91.4	98.6	.1	1.5	1,201	1,142	80	81	26	27	2	2	19.2	23.1	58	57	694	600
	243	3.8	3.7	95.2	96.1	.9	.2	1,273	1,286	84	89	29	28	6	1	205	19.0	63	58	754	572
	262	5.7	.6	93.1	99.3	1.1	.1	1,228	1,169	86	88	28	27	2		21.5	23.1	74	60	722	617
	304	44.9	41.4	54.8	58.1	.2	.5	1,139	1,252	77	84	25	28			15.4	20.2	33	67	785	552
	309	11.1	9.1	87.3	89.8	1.5	1.1	1,316	1,355	80	85	30	30	2	2	21.4	21.0	23	48	604	539

TABLE VI (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Student Ethnic Composition						Pupil Register June 30		Pupil Attendance Rate (%)		Average Class Size		No. Special Classes		Teacher-Pupil ratio 1:—		Percent Teachers [illegible]		Expenditures Per Pupil[2]	
		P		N		O															
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1967-68	1970-71	1968	1971	67-68	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7-68	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	PS 335		8.2		90.6		1.2	1,133	1,310	86	85		29		10		19.4		53		$603
	IS 35	23.0	1.6	75.4	97.9	1.5	1.5	1,553	1,734	82	84	27	33	4	4	15.8	14.8	78	26	$851	866
	J 57	35.2	21.2	63.3	78.2	1.3	1.6	1,216	2,009	73	70	26	30		1	14.7	19.0	66	33	933	790
17	PS 42	(A's to PS-316)																			
	138	5.1	3.9	92.3	92.1	2.3	4.0	1,581	1,515	84	88	22	20	4	4	13.3	18.9	42	66	1,042	582
	167	23.2	19.3	69.3	68.5	7.3	12.2	1,573	1,693	81	87	25	31			21.2	23.6	43	50	622	568
	191	22.5	17.9	73.8	79.6	3.5	2.5	1,362	1,399	81	82	27	29	2	1	19.8	21.6	37	66	649	571
	298	6.0	1.7	93.5	97.2	.4	1.1	1,340	1,295	83	86	30	31			21.7	23.7	60	60	678	573
	316	21.5	17.8	72.8	76.0	5.5	6.2	1,644	1,906	84	88	23	29	13	7	17.1	17.0	33	46	801	511
	IS 210	23.3	7.4	76.4	89.6	.3	3.0	1,460	1,289	80	82	29	26	4	2	16.2	13.6	86	47	961	953
23	PS 73	15.4	18.4	80.4	80.7	4.1	2.9	1,316	1,148	73	83	23	27			21.8	22.5	38	24	647	517
	87	16.9	12.1	80.6	87.9	2.3	0	417	419	73	80	21	26			21.9	23.9	24	26	671	573
	137	12.0	10.6	86.2	87.3	1.7	2.1	717	744	73	88	21	26			20.5	20.0	32	31	636	581
	144	29.0	17.9	70.0	81.5	.8	.6	995	814	71	77	24	22		5	17.7	18.8	40	34	943	624
	155	26.5	37.1	66.5	58.4	6.8	4.5	1,119	1,192	69	83	23	28		2		19.2	29	45	591	605

TABLE VI (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Student Ethnic Composition						Pupil Register June 30.		Pupil Attendance Ratio (%)		Average Class Size		No. Special Classes		Teacher-Pupil Ratio 1:—		Percent Teachers (Regular + Sub.) with 5 Years Experience		Expenditure Per Pupil[2]	
		PR		N		O															
		1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1968	1971	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71	1967-68	1970-71
23	PS 178	29.1	5.0	66.8	94.4	3.9	.6	596	872	67	73	27	26		1	14.8	25.0	68	26	$946	$592
	IS 55		14.4		84.8		.8	1,448	1,846	65	83		29		1		16.0		32		843
	271	39.1	9.5	59.9	90.0	.9	.5	1,912	1,632	61	65	27	30	5	2	15.7	16.2	76	26	823	901
								56,202	57,546												

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1. Data obtained from Board of Education, City of New York, Office of Planning-Programming-Budgeting, Office of Personnel; also New York City School Fact Book, prepared by The Research Staff of the Institute for Community Studies, Queens College, Marilyn Gittel, Director, 1969 ed.; Second Edition 1972, Frances Gottfreid, Project Director.

2. Comparative expenditures per pupil were computed differently in 1967-68 and 1970-71. In 1967-68 expenditure was based on the total enrollment figure and total expenditure including both total instructional and maintenance costs. In 1970-71, expenditure represents instructional costs paid from tax levy funds only; maintenance and other than tax levy funds (federal and state) are not included.

TABLE VII
PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL BUILDINGS[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Orig. Const. Date	Additions	Modernization	Capacity 1967-1968	Capacity Oct. 1971	Enrollment 1967-1968	Enrollment Oct. 1971	Per cent Utilization 1967-1968	Per cent Utilization Oct. 71 [illegible]	FUTURE PLANS
13	PS 3	1950			1159	1183	840	937	72	77	
	44	1951			1260	1270	1268	1179	101	93	
	54	1922			1315	1223	1191	1177	91	96	
	56	1966			1268	1282	1126	1266	89	96	Scheduled to receive multi-unit temporary classrooms.
	93	1909	1955	1957	978	1166	940	993	96	93	ECF #2, 300 children, prelim. design completed, under construction
	256	1959			1321	1286	1159	1095	88	85	
	270	1959			1016	963	928	864	91	88	
	305	1962			1201	1272	1246	1080	104	91	
	IS 117	1955			1400	1295	1651	1494	118	115	IS-351, Sanford-DeKalb, for 1800 - in prelim. design.
	258	1955			1342	1378	1639	1470	122	107	IS-365, Marcy and Greene, for 1800 - ready for constr. bidding.
14	PS 23	1966			1286	1268	1344	1102	105	85	
	59	1956	1964		1321	1301	1188	1113	90	91	
	148	1907		1958	1034	1022	848	917	82	91	
	157	1909		1954	1097	1210	1130	1102	103	89	
	297	1959			1144	1134	1096	964	96	87	

TABLE VII (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Orig. Constr. Date	Additions	Modernization	Capacity		Enrollment		Percent Utilization		FUTURE PLANS
					1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. '71 Reg.Cl.	
14	IS 33	1957			1436	1434	1849	1469	129	102	
16	PS 5	1966			1411	1382	1549	1519	110	110	
	21	1955			848	973	860	937	101	98	
	25	1942			1579	1621	1424	1236	90	78	
	26	1956			882	1448	1330	1369	151	94	
	28	1913			1416	1384	1584	1181	112	85	
	40	1965			1363	1336	1338	1355	98	101	
(not fireproof)	79	1890			442	435	439	430	99	99	
	81	1966			1375	1283	1624	1740	118	141	P81 addition for 560 children 70% completed.
spec. ed.	83	1891			708		718	130	101		
	129	1901	1907	1956	1177	1224	1227	1097	104	88	P308, replacing P129, 1500 children, ready for constr. bidding.
	243	1962	1965		1454	1400	1416	1277	97	90	
	262	1961			1201	1151	1205	1164	100	101	
	304	1962			1302	1268	1202	1284	92	101	
	309	1963			1276	1239	1394	1304	109	106	

TABLE VII (Cont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Orig. Constr. Date	Additions	Modernization	Capacity		Enrollment		Per Cent Utilization		FUTURE PLANS
					1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. '71 Reg. Cl.	
16	PS 335	1968			1301	1406		1292		91	P-377 new constr. for 1556 children, to be completed in 1973.
	IS 35	1925	1949		1136	1218	1551	1718	137	141	IS-348, Saratoga and Jefferson, 1800 children. final drawings in process.
	J 57	1954			1386	1366	1295	2285	93	167	IS-324, Reid and Monroe, 1800 children, in prelim. design.
17	PS 42	1907			896	891	294	602	33	67	
	138	1902	1906		1406	1469	1540	1429	110	99	
	167	1911		1957	1403	1385	1657	1410	118	101	
	191	1938			1201	1104	1646	1273	137	117	Additional capacity for 500 proposed
	298	1959			1020	1491	1347	1389	132	98	P-289 addition for 342 children, recently completed.
	316	1966			1200	1298	1177	1212	98	98	
	IS 210	1925		1965	1308	1359	1472	1361	113	101	IS-390, Sterling Place and Troy, 1800 children, ready for constr. bidding.
23	PS 73	1889			1259	1224	1287	1189	102	98	
(not fireproof)	87	1892			678	641	526	482	78	77	
	137	1902			731	685	758	655	104	95	
	144	1903	1921		1689	(Fire) 800	1792	537	106	67	
	155	1908			1242	1166	1324	1203	107	102	

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TABLE VII 'ont'd)[1]

BKLYN DIST:	SCHOOL	Orig. Constr. Date	Additions	Modernization	Capacity		Enrollment		Utilization		FUTURE PLANS
					1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. 1971	1967-1968	Oct. 1971	
23	PS 178	1915			1008	1195	1156	773	115	61	
	IS 55	1968			1818	1681		1667		99	
	271	1963			1609	1567	2030	1697	126	108	
					58,303 T	57,777 T	57,605 T	56,419 T			

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[1] Data obtained from Enrollment, Capacity, Utilization of School Buildings, 1971-1972, School Planning and Research Division, Board of Education, City of New York, Dr. Morris Nelson Sachs, Director of Programming Section; Proposed 1972-1973 School Building Program and 1973-1978 Capital Improvement Plan, prepared for a public hearing..., September 1971, Board of Education, City of New York; Program Planning Data Book, 1972-1978, Brooklyn Neighborhood Studies, prepared in the Programming Section, Board of Education, City of New York; New York City School Fact Book, Institute for Community Studies, Queens College of the City University of New York, Marilyn Gittel, Director, 1969 ed., Second Edition 1972, Frances Gottfried, Project Director.

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TABLE VIII

	BOYS H.S.	CITY-WIDE							
ENROLLMENT (10-30-'70)	2,731	245,145	4,924	2,907	4,362	3,602	3,438	928	39,111
PER CENT ATTENDANCE (11-'70)	55	77	58	61	61	82	78	78.1	81
PER CENT OF PUPIL TRANSIENCY (1969-'70)	67.1	45.2	61.5	86.2	64.1	45.6	38.8	57.9	44.5
ETHNIC COMPOSITION (10-30-'70) PER CENT BLACK	90.4	29.5	56.2	26.6	62.9	14.1	24	44.9	32.9
PER CENT ORIENTAL	.1	1.4	.3	.7	.3	.3	.2	4.1	1.1
PER CENT PUERTO RICAN	9	15.1	16.6	61.6	28.8	3	7.2	28	32.5
PER CENT OTHER-SPANISH SURNAME	.4	3.1	2.5	2.8	1.9	1.2	1.7	1.1	1.9
PER CENT OTHER	.1	50.9	24.4	8.3	6.1	81.4	66.9	21.9	31.6
ESTIMATED P'C'T PUPILS READING 2+ YEARS BELOW GRADE	48	29.6	49	49.3	54.2	24.7	33.2	65.5	44.1
NINTH GRADE READING MEAN	5.8	8.3	6.6	6.0	6.0	9.3	8.2	6.6	
NUMBER IN '70 GRADUATING CLASS GRANTED DIPLOMAS	204	36,213	571	224	388	588	534	71	5,509
GRANTED CERTIFICATES	8	392	0	7	0	13	6	67	805
PER CENT OF '70 GRADUATING CLASS GRANTED DIPLOMAS	76.1	90.8	88.1	83.3	87.1	89.5	93.5	51.4	78.8
GRANTED CERTIFICATES	3	1	0	2.6	0	2	1.1	48.6	11.5
GRANTED ACADEMIC DIPL.	11.1		36.6	13.7	24.3	33.0	38.1		
SENIOR CLASS "OTHER"	.8		36.6	13.6	26.6	72.7	78.7		
PER CENT OF '70 GRADS APPLYING TO FOUR-YEAR COLLEGES	67	58	45	28	43	68	43	14.5	18.5
JUNIOR OR COMMUN. COLL.	27	22	29	16	30	16	31	9.4	27.2
OTHER INSTITUTIONS	2	3	6	0	1	4	5	.7	3.8
NUMBER OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS	8		11	9	10	7	3		
TOTAL TEACHING STAFF	129		260	150	217	185	190	80	
PER CENT TEACHERS WITH 3+ YEARS EXPERIENCE (10-'69)	64.2	77	68.7	60.1	60	81.9	83.7	90.5	85.3
PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO (10-'70)	20.8	20.1	20.6	20.5	21.3	21.6	21.4	13.9	14.5
AVERAGE CLASS SIZE (10-'70)	23.7	26.6	27.3	25.1	25.7	27.8	28	26.3	26.9
BUILDING: DATE OF CONSTR.	1910		1937	1905	1924	1931	1928	1904	
BUILDING: PER CENT UTILIZATION	115		114	140	152	117	119	71	
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION	SEMI-ANNUAL, 2 SESS.		SEMI-ANNUAL, 2 SESS.	SEMI-ANNUAL, 2 SESS.	SEMI-ANNUAL, 2 SESS.	SEMI-ANNUAL, 3 SESS.	SEMI-ANNUAL 3 SESS.	ANNUAL 1 SESSION	
SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX	ESEA TITLE I		ESEA TITLE I	ESEA TITLE I	ESEA TITLE I			ESEA TITLE I	
PER CAPITA BUDGETED COSTS DIRECT INSTRUCTIONAL									
PERSONAL SERVICE	$774	$809	$754	$791	$725	$771	$803	$1,302	$1,178
SUPPLIES AND EQUIP.	10	13	11	10	10	10	11	19	18
PLANT OPERATIONS									
CUSTODIAL COSTS, FUEL, TELE.	63	48	50	46	56	53	49	104	77
TOTAL	$847	$870	$815	$847	$791	$834	$863	$1,425	$1,273

1970-1971 School Profiles, 101 Academic and Vocational High Schools, Office of Planning-Programming-Budgeting, Board of Education, City of New York. "Report on Graduates, Academic High Schools," Board of Education, City of New York, June 1971.

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TABLE

	SCHOOL REGIS MARCH 31, 197	REG. 5TH TER PROG GRAD	TOTAL CANDID FOR GRAD. JUN	TOTAL REFUSE DIPLOMA JUNE	PER CENT [illegible]		[illegible]							D	[illegible]	G [illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
					[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1967 -68	1970 -71	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
BOYS HIGH	2439	519	292	53	1.8	18.7	36	62	178	170	0	0	10	7	239	1:2.7	1:3.7	229	96	0	0	10	4
NO. ENROLLED APPLYING FOR COLLEGE								62		160		0		7									
NO. ENROLLED APPLYING FOR C/C, COMM'C								0		0		0		0									
NO. ENROLLED APPLYING FOR OPEN INST.								0		10		0		0									
FRANKLIN K. LANE	4,228	596	574	76	12.4	12.8	157	223	413	249	28	46	5	0	518	1:2.5	1:3.	237	46	159	31	45	9
[illegible]								209		25		3		0									
[illegible]								5		140		14		0									
[illegible]								4		36		5		0									
EASTERN DISTRICT	2,630	305	300	36	10.7	12.0	57	51	181	195	25	10	4	8	264	1:3.2	1:2.7	106	40	72	27	1	0
[illegible]								41		60		5		0									
[illegible]								8		60		3		1									
[illegible]								0		1		0		0									
THOMAS JEFFERSON	3,830	410	420	55	8.8	13.1	195	101	279	236	33	13	0	15	365	1:3	1:3.3	159	44	88	24	36	10
[illegible]								90		60		9		0									
[illegible]								0		73		0		15									
[illegible]								0		32		4		0									
GROVER CLEVELAND	3,243	649	625	37	6.7	5.9	220	228	276	273	71	75	2	12	588	1:1.6	1:2.3	266	45	288	49	22	4
[illegible]								118		102		46		0									
[illegible]								97		168		23		0									
[illegible]								13		3		6		0									
RICHMOND HILL	3,268	563	554	35	6.3	6.3	226	175	314	255	47	79	19	10	519	1:1.5	1:1.6	225	43	124	24	14	3
[illegible]								147		56		21		1									
[illegible]								12		84		25		?									
[illegible]								1		9		4		0									

"REPORT ON GRADUATES, ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS," [illegible]

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TABLE V[1] BEST C

POPULATION CHANGES IN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND HIGH SCHOOLS SERVI

													ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS						
	ST. AMBROSE 760 DE KALB		ST. BENEDICT 933 HERKIMER		ST GREGORY 991 ST JOHNS PL.		HOLY ROSARY 180 BAINBRIDGE		ST MATTHEW 1123 EASTERN PARKWAY		OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL 800 MADISON		OUR LADY OF LOURDES 11 DE SALES PL		ST. [illegible] 80 [illegible] AV.		OUR LADY OF VICTORY 272 MACON		N 28
POPULATION	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	197 -7
BLACK																			
CATHOLIC	168	138	101	103	184	192	324	300	103	138	262	259	187	165	200	176	401	340	28
NON-CATH	27	36	29	31	12	8	130	135			103	67	16	22	25	8	163	137	8
SPANISH																			
CATHOLIC	364	328	55	59	29	33	11	7	129	111	194	123	296	269	416	447	6	4	9
NON-CATH	3	1										2		1	8	4			
ORIENTAL																			
CATHOLIC							2	2	3	3	2		3	2		2			
NON-CATH	2														3	2	11	10	
AMER. IND. CATHOLIC						3	2	2				8	4						
NON-CATH												5							
OTHER																			
CATHOLIC	6	5	6	6	226	205			169	116	42	71	120	99	31	32	5	3	4
NON-CATH.	1		1	1	8	5					9	8	7	3		1			
TOTAL	571	510	192	200	459	446	469	446	404	368	612	543	633	561	683	667	581	494	51
CATHOLIC	538	473	162	168	439	433	339	311	404	368	500	461	610	535	647	652	412	347	42
NON-CATH	33	37	30	32	20	13	130	135			112	82	23	26	36	15	174	147	9
MINORITY																			
CATHOLIC	532	468	156	162	213	228	339	311	235	252	458	390	490	436	616	620	407	344	38
NON-CATH	32	37	29	31	12	8	130	135			103	74	16	23	36	14	174	147	9

TOTAL ELEMENTARY ENROLLMENT
1970-71 : 9,033
1971-72 : 8,276

[1] Information obtained from the Catholic Schools Office, Diocese of Brooklyn.

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																	HIGH SCHOOLS			
	NATIVITY 28 MADISON		ST. PATRICKS 918 KENT AVE		ST. PETER CLAVER [illegible] AVE.		ST TERESA 560 STERLING PLACE		ALL SAINTS FLUSHING & THROOP		ST JOSEPH 715 DEAN ST.		QUEEN OF ALL SAINTS VANDERBILT & LAFAYETTE		OUR LADY OF LORETTO 2365 PACIFIC		BISHOP McDONNELL 260 EASTERN PARKWAY		NCRD HIGH SCHOOL 82 LEWIS AVE.	
2.	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72	1970 -71	1971 -72
0	280	269	150	144	289	285	590	405	62	63	121	98	86	115	146	153	231	225	50	107
7	89	65	10	5	10	13	102	200			14	31	15	24	7	20	4	8	10	33
/	99	83	262	268	15	16	209	194	272	270	156	149	68	85	289	292	135	124	40	67
	1						1					1			3	10			10	5
			1		4	5	5	1			2	3	17	30			12	6		1
0				1				3					1	3			1	1		1
									1		2	2	4				4			
											1									
3	40	62	134	91	1		192	91	16	18	168	135	193	137	272	184	903	634	13	30
	5	6									4	2	14	9				1	2	
4	515	485	557	509	319	319	1099	894	351	351	468	421	398	403	717	659	1290	999	125	244
7	420	414	547	503	309	306	996	691	351	351	449	387	368	367	707	629	1285	989	103	205
2	95	71	10	6	10	13	103	203			19	34	30	36	10	30	5	10	22	39
	380	352	413	412	308	306														
	90	65	10	6	10	13														

TOTAL H.S. ENR.
1970-71 1,415
1971-72 1,243